



Tibet Information Network

City Cloisters
188-196 Old Street
London
EC1V 9FR UK.

tel: +44 (0)171 814 9011

fax: +44 (0)171 814 9015

email: tin@tibetinfo.net

www.tibetinfo.net

TIN BACKGROUND BRIEFING PAPER

B25

RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGION IN TIBET, 1994

March 1995

The Tibet Information Network Trust is registered as a charity (No. 1057948),
and as a limited company in England and Wales (No. 3228281).
Registered address: 76 Southwood Hill, Maresfield Hill Road, London N15 5UF

TIN USA -
50110 (3)

tel: +1 (0)307 733 4870
fax: +1 (0)307 739 2501
email: tinusa@wyoming.com

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Background Briefing Paper No.25, March 1995

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Introduction: The 1994 Campaign to Limit the Growth of Religion

In the last week of November 1994 a senior human rights official from the United Nations and two colleagues were allowed to spend two days in Tibet, at the invitation of the Chinese government. It was the first time the Chinese authorities had permitted a human rights official from the UN to go to Tibet or China. The mission represented a high point in Beijing's confidence in its ability to open its administration in Tibet to expert inspection.

The object of the UN officials' visit was to report on evidence, if any, relating to religious intolerance in China and Tibet. In fact, much of their work was done in the briefings sought by the UN team in Geneva before they left for China. Meetings in China and Tibet were fairly limited and often quite formal, and there were no apparent meetings with the Party officials who set China's policy on religion. Details of the team's whereabouts and of their schedule were not made

public, and it was difficult if not impossible for people other than officials to contact the team; for most of them such an attempt would anyway have been dangerous.

Nevertheless, when the UN team returned to Geneva, it issued a report which made significant criticisms of China's religious policy, and indeed asked for the

This concern with the situation in Tibet may have been partly due to the influence of one man: Yulu Dawa Tsering, former abbot and philosophy teacher in Lhasa and the first political prisoner to have been detained during the current phase of unrest, who was conditionally released from prison three weeks before the UN team arrived. Yulu *Trulku* (as Tibetans refer to him) was the only person in Tibet or China, other than officials, who is known to have spoken to the team and to have allowed his remarks to be reported (for details of his statement, see *TIN News Review No 23*, March 1995). The decision by the Lama was to some extent a new development in Tibet, as no other dissident there is known to have spoken out at a formal occasion.

The UN team may have been influenced by another factor: on the day they arrived in Tibet, unbeknown to them, the authorities published a statement in the official paper announcing that the growth of Buddhism in Tibet was to be curtailed. The team had in fact arrived just as a new and highly motivated campaign against religion in Tibet was swinging into action.

That campaign originated from the Third Forum, a major policy conference held in Beijing in July 1994, which had already led to the sending of work teams to all monasteries and nunneries to announce a ceiling on admissions of monks and nuns, and to the banning of religious practice among government officials. The character of that campaign, still in full swing, was more aggressive and determined than any policy towards religion in Tibet since before 1980, the year in which sweeping liberalisations were introduced under the leadership of the Chinese reformer Hu Yaobang.

During the visit of the UN team to Lhasa, many Tibetans, who had been forewarned of his visit through the American radio service, Voice of America, or by other means, tried hard to find the visitors in order to hand over documents and statements about the religious situation in Tibet. Almost without exception, they failed to reach the team, or were too frightened to try.

Instead a number of written statements were sent by other channels to TIN in London for passing on to the UN Rapporteur. They arrived too late to be included in his initial report to the UN Commission on Human Rights, but their views and opinions were presented to the Commission through a written paper submitted by a non-governmental organisation, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, and published by the UN.

The statements sent by Tibetans - nuns, monks, lay-people and officials - are of a high standard as examples of documentation, largely free from rhetoric, emotive language or exaggeration, as is required by the UN for all submissions. The reports give a unified and coherent account of the current situation for religious believers in

Chinese Constitution to be changed. The 40-page report - which has still not been published by the UN except in French - was dominated by the team's discussion of the situation in Tibet, even though there are at present far more people who have been detained, and in several cases killed, for purely religious reasons in China than in Tibet.

Tibet, and describe the operations of the new campaign against religion as it completed its first phase of activity - the sending of work teams to the monasteries and nunneries - in November 1994.

TIN Background Briefing Paper No.25

This background paper attempts, through a compilation of separate reports, to give a picture of the current situation regarding religion in Tibet. It consists of

- A: news reports from TIN and from the Chinese press
- B: notes on restrictions on religion, with examples
- C: statements and official texts submitted by Tibetans
- D: typical prisoner cases

The **News Reports**, with pieces from both TIN and summaries from Chinese press articles, show the development of the campaign to limit the spread of religion during the autumn of 1994. The articles by TIN describe the visit of the UN team to Tibet, and the attempts of Tibetans to contact the team. Many of the Chinese reports in this period focus on the state visit to China of the 11-year old religious leader, the Karmapa.

The **Notes on Restrictions on Religion**, written before the departure of the UN team, highlight some issues which had been raised by Tibetans earlier in the year and which have not always been widely considered in the West - in particular the government's control over the movement of monks and the setting of monastic rules, and the double jeopardy faced by politically active monks and nuns, who are expelled from their monasteries and nunneries as well as imprisoned. The former of these is illustrated in this report by a translation of the **internal regulations of a monastery** in Lhokha, southern Tibet. The latter was specifically addressed by the UN Rapporteur in his report, which called for an end to the practice of banning former dissidents from returning to religious institutions.

The Background Briefing Paper includes extracts from **the documents written by Tibetans** for submission to the UN team. All the sections relating to religion in the Tibetan documents are included in translation. The translations are preceded by a TIN summary which reproduces in brief the main concerns stated in the submissions. The Tibetan reports are contrasted with examples of official Chinese statements released at the same time which confirm or provide contrast to their observations.

Finally, the Briefing Paper lists a number of **representative cases of Tibetans held in prison**. Almost all the prisoners held in Tibet on account of their opinions are political activists as well as religious practitioners (monastic and lay), and so the question as to whether they are religious or political prisoners is complex. The list is therefore preceded by a discussion of this question. It notes that from a legal point of view,

since the detentions are arbitrary and the punishments disproportionate to the perceived offences, it appears that the prisoners, mostly religious practitioners, are victims of a discriminatory sentencing policy; it is therefore for the Chinese authorities to prove that this discrimination is other than an attack on these people on account of their religious views. In his report the UN Rapporteur made by implication the legally significant decision that monks and nuns held in Tibet as a result of political activities are to be considered as religious prisoners.

In Tibet the campaign to restrict religion continues. There are reports from nearly a dozen rural monasteries and nunneries of protest and unrest, some of it violent, and already one of these is known to have been in response to the presence of a work team proclaiming the new restrictions. It remains to be seen whether the current administration and its security forces will implement in full the new demands of the Party, and to what extent the Tibetans will accept them.

PART A: RELIGIOUS RESTRICTIONS: NEWS REPORTS

Chinese To Stop Growth of Buddhism in Tibet

TIN News Update / 3 January, 1995

The Chinese authorities are imposing a halt on any further spread of religion in the Tibet Autonomous Region, with no more monasteries to be built and an absolute limit placed on the number of monks and nuns, according to an official document published in Tibet.

"At present the number of monasteries, monks and nuns in our region is sufficient to fulfil the needs of the daily religious practice of the masses," announced the Party's Propaganda Committee in a directive published in the *Tibet Daily* on 25th November last year. "We must fix the number of monks and nuns in the monasteries," it said.¹

A copy of the paper, which is the official organ of the Communist Party in the Tibet Autonomous Region, reached London this week. "We must be cautious and patient about this matter and should never let religion spread unchecked," said the directive issued by the Propaganda Committee under the title "*The Golden Bridge to Reach the New Era*". "There is too much religious activity," it added, explaining that "the problem of religious interference is serious [...] as it has actually interfered with people's productivity and with their daily lives."

The announcement, which was published to coincide with the arrival in Lhasa of the UN's top official responsible for assessing religious intolerance, is likely to be viewed as a gesture of defiance by the Chinese government towards the UN's stand on human rights.

The Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance, Mr Abdelfattah Amor, a Tunisian jurist whose mandate is to report on allegations of religious abuses to the UN Commission on Human Rights, was leading the first ever UN human rights mission to Tibet or China. He arrived in Lhasa on the day the directive was published in the local newspaper.

Nationalism Has Increased in Monasteries

The propaganda directive lists seven "obvious problems" in religion which had to be corrected. These included the unauthorised construction of monasteries, religious "interference" in education and birth control, the existence of monks under the age of 18, and participation by "a few Party members" in religion.

Nationalist support is increasing in the monasteries, according to the Party circular. "The influence of the enemy outside, especially the Dalai clique, has been slipping into the monasteries of our region more than ever," says the directive. "The Party members, government staff, monks and nuns in the monasteries must all make a clear political distinction concerning the Dalai clique," it ordered.

The document also complained about the lack of political education among monks and nuns. "Problem No. 6" was described as "The teaching of Party policies among the monks and nuns has not been sufficient," it said. "We must teach Tibetan Buddhism about self-reform and teach them to adapt themselves to a socialist system. They must learn to reform all those religious tenets and practices which do not comply with the socialist society," it added.

"Freedom to Believe" Means Ban on Growth

The decision to halt the growth of Buddhism in Tibet has not been announced by Beijing or published in English, suggesting that it is not intended for international attention. The decision was sanctioned as official policy by China's most senior leaders at a top-level meeting headed by Party Secretary Jiang Zemin in Beijing in July 1994, called the "Third National Forum on Work in Tibet".

The Forum led to a spate of official broadcasts and articles which described at length the decision to implement China's "freedom to believe" policy in Tibet, in tandem with an accelerated drive for economic development in the region. But none of the official accounts had hinted that this meant banning further growth.¹

The reports said only that the Forum had decided to "implement the freedom to believe policy" and to "strengthen the administration of temples".² The details

¹ Section 12 of "*The Golden Bridge to Reach the New Era*, issued by the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party of the Tibet Autonomous Region as a reference document to publicise the spirit of the Third Forum on Work in Tibet", printed in the *Tibet Daily* (Tibetan language version), Lhasa, 25th November 1994, page 2.

² "*Xizang Ribao*", Lhasa, in Chinese 2 Aug 94, published in "Tibet Third Work Forum - Propagation of Guidelines: Raidi, Gyaincain Norbu summarizes Tibet forum conclusions", *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts* (SWB) 21 August 1994.

now available suggest that these statements were designed to mislead.

"We should implement the policy on respecting freedom to believe in religion in an appropriate and all-around manner, and respect and protect proper religious activities", Jiang Zemin was quoted as saying at the meeting, without giving any further details.³

The details were provided only in the section 12 of the "reference materials" of the Third Forum, which were published by the Party Propaganda Committee in the *Tibet Daily* on 25th November "to publicise the spirit of the Third Forum on Work in Tibet". The full set of the "reference materials" - Party decisions published so that they can be studied and memorised in political education sessions across Tibet - had been issued in Chinese and Tibetan in book form on 1st October, but the section on religion was not printed in the newspaper, covering a full page (130 column cms), until the day of the UN delegation's arrival.

Halt on New Monasteries Confirmed

News of a ban on more monks, nuns and monasteries in Tibet had been announced in an important report published by the Swedish Government in October 1994, but it had not been widely credited at the time. A group of experts sent by the Swedish Foreign Ministry on a Human Rights Mission to Tibet in March 1994 reported that a middle-ranking Tibetan official had told them of the ban.

"The number of monks and nuns ... covered rather more than the demands. The freedom of religion was now fully accomplished," the delegation said it was told by Drokmi Jampa Lodro, head of the Tibet Autonomous Region's Commission on Religious Affairs.⁴

"The understanding is then that 1,400 monasteries and 34,000 monks and nuns are sufficient for Tibet," reported the Swedish experts. "This is based on a demand analysis that is done in Beijing. For this reason permission is not given for restorations of more monasteries (even though money is collected from private sources) and the number of monks and nuns must not pass the given number," they were told.

Officials told the Swedish delegation that the halt to growth was consistent with China's policy of religious freedom on the grounds that there were no more demands for more monasteries to be restored, or because Tibet cannot afford to pay for more monasteries or monks. However, there are hundreds of would-be monks and nuns already living in major monasteries awaiting official admission as novices.

Tibetan sources describe party officials touring monasteries near Lhasa in August 1994 to enforce the

decision to limit the number of monks. "A Chinese 'Work Team' arrived in the Monastery with the warning that if they increase the number of monks above the fixed limit, then all the monks would be expelled," said a monk from Sera Monastery, where the limit has been fixed at around 200. There are about 300 unofficial monks awaiting admission at Sera, described by the directive as one of the "three troublesome monasteries", which held about 9,000 monks before 1959.

In Nyedong county near the town of Tsethang "the rebuilding of monasteries has been restricted and there has been a ban on the admission of new monks and nuns," claimed another Tibetan source. In the monastery of Gathab in Meldrogunkar county the admission of any new monks has been banned, said another Tibetan.

The internal equivalent of the published "reference materials" is a circular issued after the Third Forum known as "Document No.8", described by one Tibetan official as "severely repressive". It orders cadres "to place Tibet's religious traditions under tight scrutiny and to restrict any expansion or development of the Monasteries," said the official, who asked not to be named. The three unpublished objectives of the Third Forum include cutting off support for the Dalai Lama and "immediately stopping the growth of religion in Tibet", he added.

In 1959 there were 2,700 temples and monasteries in what is now called the Tibet Autonomous Region, plus 114,000 monks and 1,600 senior Lamas or *trulkus*, according to Chinese figures. By 1978 only there were only 8 monasteries and 970 monks left; about 1,400 or half the monasteries have since been rebuilt.⁵ In Qinghai, formerly the Tibetan province of Amdo, 719 monasteries out of the 756 that existed in 1958 have been rebuilt, and there are 33,000 monks and nuns, compared to 72,000 before "democratic reforms" were imposed, according to a recent Chinese publication.⁶

Many secularised urban Tibetans have reservations about the rapid increase in the number of monasteries in the last ten years, but do not endorse the interference of the Chinese authorities in Tibetan affairs. Most Tibetans still see monasteries as offering the best chance of a Tibetan education, and there long queues of applicants hoping to become monks.

In June 1994 China's main newspaper called for rules to be imposed "to check the unhealthy trend in random construction of temples". "Random construction of temples disturbs people's thinking", said the article, which did not refer to Tibet or to an absolute ban on new religious buildings.⁷

⁵ 80% of those monasteries and 93% of the monks and nuns had been destroyed or had disappeared by 1966, before the Cultural Revolution. The figures were provided by Buchung Tsering, a vice-Chairman of the TAR Government, speaking at a press conference in July 1987.

⁶ *Qinghai zang zhuan fu jiao si yuan ming jian* ("Clarification of Monasteries of the Tibetan Buddhist Tradition in Qinghai [Province]"), Gansu People's Publishing House/Lanzhou University Press, chief editor Nian Zhilai, 1993, pp.6-7.

⁷ *Renmin Ribao*, 20th June 1994, published in BBC SWB FE/2047, G/13, 14th July 1994.

³ Tibet TV, Lhasa, in standard Chinese 1200 gmt 16 Aug 94, published in "Lhasa TV propagates Jiang Zemin's view on strengthening nationalities, religious work", SWB 22 August 1994.

⁴ "Rapport från den Svenska MR-Delegationens Besök i Kina och Tibet 20-30 Mars 1994", p 41, presented to and published by the Swedish Foreign Ministry on 4th October 1994.

"The Golden Bridge to Reach the New Era"

The extracts translated here from *The Golden Bridge to Reach the New Era* have been selected from an official notice printed in the *Tibet Daily* (Tibetan language version), 25th November 1994, page 3. This notice was itself an extract - Section 12 - taken from a much longer text, which had been published in book form in October 1994. This translation is by TIN [TIN Ref: Doc 51(WJJ)].

[NOTE:] Issued by the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party of the Tibet Autonomous Region on 20th November 1994 as reference materials to publicise the spirit of the Third Forum on Work in Tibet.

Section 12:

[...] Tibetan Buddhism was founded in a certain historical period in Tibet and has had a great effect on the people. For our socialist cause it is important to fully understand and solve this problem with religion. Since the 3rd Plenary of the 11th Session of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the CCP and the People's Government of the TAR has reinforced the leadership in the religious field and has made conspicuous achievements. At present the number of monasteries, monks and nuns in our region are sufficient to fulfil the needs of the daily religious practice of the masses. We must be cautious and patient about this matter and should never let it [religion] spread unchecked [literally, "never let drift as please"].

In the area of religion there are some obvious problems in our region at the moment, notably:

1. There are monasteries which have been opened without permission from the authorities, and there is too much religious activity. There was a particular district which built monasteries without limits and without permission. The waste of manpower, materials and money was tremendous.
2. The burden of the devotees has increased and the production and the living standards of the masses has been badly affected.
3. The problem of religion interfering in administration, law, education, marriages, and birth planning [ie., birth control] is serious as they have actually interfered with people's productivity and with their daily life. A number of religious institutions have been used by a few counter-revolutionaries to plot against us and have become counter-revolutionary bases.
4. Some monasteries have broken the State regulations and have allowed teenagers under the age of 18 to join them.
5. A few Party members were quite enthusiastic about participating in religious activities.
6. The teaching of Party policies among the monks and nuns has not been sufficient, and law, in particular, has not been taught well. Some monasteries had no knowledge of these things at all.
7. The influence of the enemy outside, especially the Dalai clique, has been slipping into the

monasteries of our region more than ever. They assume that "to get hold of a monastery is the equivalent of [getting hold of] a district for the Communist Party", and they are putting great effort into achieving this.

We must pay attention to the Dalai clique's [strategy of] making use of religion for the cause of separatism. We must expose the way the Dalai is using religion as a pretext for his political purposes. The Party members, government personnel, monks and nuns in the monasteries must all make a clear political distinction concerning the Dalai clique. Those few separatists who are making use of religion for their own political purposes must be exposed and punished according to the law. At present we must enhance the administration of the monasteries and of the monks and nuns by means of the law. The relevant laws and regulations declared by the State must be implemented thoroughly, and we must make them practicable. We must create regulations and a system to administer religion, so that our religious administration will have a base to rely on. We must fix the number of monks and nuns in the monasteries. We must enhance the administration of the monasteries, especially of the three troublesome ones. The Democratic Management Committees (DMC) in each monastery are the grass-roots units of our administration and they assist the government in administering the monasteries. We must elect well the members of the DMC so that those who exercise authority over the monasteries are patriotic devotees who act according to the civil and religious laws. We must enhance the knowledge of the monks and nuns about patriotism and law. In recognising the reincarnations of the Trulkus [reincarnate lamas] of Tibetan Buddhism, we must follow the relevant decisions of the State and implement them according to our region's realities and make them more practical. We must teach Tibetan Buddhism about self-reform and teach them to adapt themselves to the socialist system. They must adapt themselves to the developments of Tibet and to the necessity of stability. They must learn to reform all tenets and practices of religion which do not comply with the socialist society and develop religion according to this way.

14 Detained from "Outstanding Monastery":

More on December Protests by Sang-ngag Khar Monks
TIN News Update / 15 February, 1995

14 monks from a monastery near Lhasa were arrested after protesting against political interference in the monastery, according to reports from Tibet. The arrests took place in December 1994, five days after a visit to the area by a high-level UN mission investigating religious intolerance.

Earlier reports said that up to six monks had staged a protest and been arrested on 7th December, but more detailed accounts now say that an earlier protest was staged on 2nd December, leading to the detention of 8 other monks from the same monastery.

The monks were all from the monastery of Sang-ngag Khar, 25 km east of Lhasa in an area traditionally called

Dechen, now part of an area referred to by the Chinese as Taktse county.

The monks were protesting against a threat by Communist Party officials to close down the monastery if any of the members showed support for the Tibetan pro-independence movement.

The Party Secretary of Taktse county, a Tibetan named Ngawang Thokme, had made the threat at a meeting of all the monks at Sang-ngag Khar. "If the monks of the Monastery side with the splittist movement, then the Monastery will be considered illegal and will therefore will be closed, and the monks will be sent back to their homes", the cadre is reported to have said, according to a local source.

Cadres announced that the maximum number of monks allowed in the monastery would be fixed at 60, and forbade any additional monks to be admitted, even if another monk died or left the order. Monks from areas outside the county were also told they must leave the monastery.

According to local sources the monks had earlier tried to appeal to the UN Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance, who spent two days in Lhasa from 26th November at the invitation of the Chinese government.

The whereabouts of the UN delegation was kept secret from the public and access was made difficult. Monks at the Jokhang, a temple visited by the delegation, were ordered to stay in their rooms during the visit, according to an informed source. "The leaders gave a strong order that the Jokhang monks should not come out of their rooms, and that if members of the delegation met any monks, they should speak only of things which are good," said an informed source. The delegation was accompanied by nine plain clothes policemen on their way to the temple, according to the source.

Only one Tibetan, the prominent prisoner of conscience Yulu Dawa Tsering, is known to have met the UN Rapporteur apart from officials, but his visit was

arranged with Government approval at the request of the UN delegation.

Model Monastery: Vases Taken Back

The Sang-ngag Khar monks had also been angered by the announcement in November 1994 that their monastery had been awarded the title of "outstanding monastery" by a visiting political re-education team, according to a separate source. The award, which indicated that the monks had declared support for the Chinese regime during the current anti-Dalai Lama campaign, was accompanied by a 2,000 yuan gift to the monastery from the authorities. "The monks were not happy about being called this and many took their anger onto the streets in Taktse and in Lhasa," said one Tibetan source.

Posters were put up by the monks in Taktse, the town nearest the monastery, and three groups of monks are believed to have staged demonstrations in Lhasa, one group on 2nd December and two groups of four and two monks respectively on 7th December. Six of the 14 monks detained are held in Taktse prison, and eight - presumably the ones who took part in protests in Lhasa - in a Lhasa prison.

Local Tibetans believe that the local authorities are considering closing down the "outstanding monastery". The decision will be taken by the head of the local Religious Affairs Bureau.

The title of *yar-tonpa* or "outstanding monastery" awarded to Sang-ngag Khar in November 1994 was withdrawn in December 1994. "The cash and two vases were taken back," said one Tibetan, without further comment. The Chinese traditionally present ornamental vases as awards.

Sang-ngag Khar - literally, the *Citadel of the Secret Mantra* - was a college of the Gelugpa or "yellow hat" school of Tibetan Buddhism and was famous for the visit of the monastic reformer Je Tsongkhapa in the fourteenth century. It was destroyed after the 1950 Chinese invasion and rebuilt in the mid-1980s.

Monks from Sang-ngag Khar monastery arrested for involvement in protests in Lhasa and Taktse on 2nd or 7th December 1994

Held in prison in Lhasa:

Lobsang Gendun	(family name: Nyenkha)
Phuntsog Lhundrup	(family name: Gyamasha)
Phuntsog Choejor	(family name: Bala)
Phuntsog Samten	(family name: Dechog)
Phuntsog Choedrag	(family name: Nyenkha)
Ngawang Jinpa	(family name: Lamphag)
Ngawang Oedbar	(family name: Nyenkhong)
Phuntsog Choedrag (senior)	(family name: Nyenkha)

Held in Taktse county prison:

Phuntsog Jigdral	(family name: Nyenkha)
Ngawang Losel	(family name: Nyenkha)
Ngawang Thoglam	(family name: Nyenkha)
Ngawang Legyon	(family name: Dechog)
Ngawang Choekyong	(family name: Dechog)
Lobsang Tenzin	(family name: Dechog)

Tibetans Prevented from Contacting UN

TIN News Update / 2 January, 1995

Chinese security forces were deployed to deter Tibetans from contacting a UN human rights delegation that visited Tibet last November, according to news just received from unofficial sources in the city, who say that ten days after the team left four monks were arrested for staging a demonstration linked to the visit.

UN officials were apparently unaware that they were surrounded by plainclothes police, that monks were banned from the main temple area during the visit, and that military helicopters flew low over the Tibetan quarter of the city as a deterrent, say Tibetans and tourists who were in the city.

20 Tibetans who attempted to submit information to the delegation smuggled news out to TIN, an independent information organisation in London, after giving up the attempt to reach the UN. At least four people have sent written protests saying that they were unable to reach the delegation because of security operations.

A senior UN official who was on the 40 hour trip to Tibet, from 25th to 27th November, denied that his team had been inaccessible. "We visited many temples and squares, and people could have come to the hotel," he said, speaking from the UN's Centre for Human Rights in Geneva.

Monks and nuns were banned from the area around the main temple in Lhasa during the two-day visit by the UN, and western tourists reported seeing monks being forced to leave the area by police.

In at least one temple visited by the delegation an English-speaking monk was confined to his room while the UN officials were on the premises, according to Tibetan sources. Students at a Lhasa medical college were restricted to their campus during the visit and foreigners were banned from visiting students at the University of Tibet without police permission from mid-November.

"People who saw the delegation described them as surrounded by plainclothes police," said a Westerner who was in the city. "This might not have been apparent to the delegation themselves," he added.

The four arrested monks, whose names are not known, were detained when they staged a demonstration in the Barkor, the pilgrimage circuit in the centre of the Tibetan quarter, at about 11am on 7th December. Two other monks, all of whom came from Sang-ngag Khar monastic college in Taktse county, 25 km east of Lhasa, evaded arrest but are likely to have been caught later.

Monks from the same monastery had been hoping to contact the Rapporteur and may not have known that his team had already left, according to Tibetan sources.

Restrictions on religious practice have increased sharply throughout Tibet in the last five months. In August officials in the Taktse county, which includes Sang-ngag Khar, announced that possession of photographs

of the Dalai Lama and the use of altars by government employees was banned.

"They imposed a fixed number of 60 monks allowed in Sang-ngag Khar Monastery and said it was strictly prohibited to exceed that number of monks. Even when a monk has died or discontinued as a monk he should not be replaced," said a Tibetan from the area, speaking of the policy shift last August.

Officials also announced that the monastery would be closed down if the monks showed support for Tibetan independence, and that all monks born outside the county were to be expelled. "The aim of these restrictions is to completely destroy the monastery in future," claimed the Tibetan.

UN Visit

Mr Abdelfattah Amor, the UN Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance, led the delegation, the first ever trip by a UN Human Rights team to China or Tibet. Mr Amor, a Tunisian jurist whose mandate is to report on allegations of religious abuses to the UN Commission on Human Rights, has not yet published details about his trip to Tibet, during which he attended an undisclosed number of official meetings.

"The visit was kept secret from the public and there were intensive security arrangements in Lhasa on the Friday," said one Tibetan contacted by TIN in Lhasa. "There was tight security around the Jokhang Temple from about 11am on the Saturday, the day of their visit to the Temple, and police were visible all over the Barkor," he added.

Beggars were also cleared out from the area for the weekend of the visit, which was timed to coincide with the celebration of Lhabab Duchen, one of the Buddhist festivals which Tibetans are allowed to celebrate in public.

"No monks or nuns were allowed in the Barkor on the Saturday and the two main monasteries near the city were closed off so the monks couldn't leave," said one Westerner who was in Lhasa at the time. He asked not to be named. A checkpoint was set up on the road between Sera monastery and Lhasa and "all monks were removed from buses and sent back to their quarters," he said.

"It was impossible to meet the delegation", reported a Westerner who tried for two days to find the team, whose presence in the little-used south wing of the Lhasa Holiday Inn was denied by staff and management until after they had left. "Given the high security it was not easy to contact them without attracting the attention of the authorities," another Westerner said.

"We met one Tibetan who said he wanted to pass something to the delegation in their hotel, even if it meant going to prison, but like us he could not get to them," said the Tibetan-speaking tourist. "We would not have dared to come up to them in the street," he said.

On the mornings of both 26th and 27th November military helicopters flew low over the Barkor. "This was

very unusual, and Tibetans regarded these flights as intimidating," the tourist added.

"We Tibetans are without any opportunity to talk because, as usual, Chinese soldiers are posted in all the places where you are going to visit," one Tibetan wrote in an open letter to the delegation.

UN Rapporteurs are required to receive information from all relevant sources and in theory can meet whomever they wish, with the host country supposedly guaranteeing the safety of anyone "who seeks to co-operate with United Nations human rights procedures", according to UN documents. It is not known if such guarantees were sought by the UN from the Chinese before the visit.

"The UN will know nothing of the truth if they base their judgement only on what the Chinese authorities show them," commented one Tibetan in Lhasa.

The restrictions on religion described by the Tibetans who contacted TIN included constraints imposed in the previous six months, notably a ban on religious activity or possession of Dalai Lama photographs by government employees. They also complained about restrictions on the reconstruction of monasteries and on admissions to them, the need for government permission before giving major religious teaching, constraints on travel by monks and nuns, and state interference in the selection of religious leaders. "The so-called policy of religious freedom is just an external show", said one Tibetan, a view repeated in all the Tibetan reports received.

UN Reports on Religion in China: Calls for Change in China's Constitution

TIN News Update / 10 February, 1995 part

The Special Rapporteur's 35-page report refers to a "perceptible development in the field of human rights and religious tolerance" in China, noting "some progress" as well as "aspects that deserve to be corrected and improved".

The progress referred to by the UN report is in the field of legislation, but the UN recommends that China should still introduce a law on religious tolerance, and that it should amend its constitution. Currently the Chinese constitution allows citizens the freedom to display religious belief, but does not specifically allow freedom of religious belief as such.

Chinese law only permits "normal" religious activities, a term which is not defined, and the UN recommends in the report that the distinction between "normal" and "abnormal" religious activities should be abolished.

The report gives frequent illustrations of the gulf between the letter and the practice of law in China, and calls for tighter drafting of legislation, and for less exceptions to be allowed for the authorities to waive legal rights. "The discretionary power given to the administration faces the risk of turning into arbitrary power", said M. Amor.

M. Amor called on China to release 79 people imprisoned or placed under restrictions for their religious

beliefs, including 68 Christian priests and a representative group of 11 Tibetan monks and nuns convicted of pro-independence activities. The inclusion of the Tibetans in the list indicated that the UN regards monks and nuns held for expressing political opinions as religious prisoners, a view rejected by China. The Chinese authorities, who had first received the list a year ago, said that a general release or amnesty was not possible, and instead supplied the UN with information about 11 of the 79 cases.

Chinese law does not extend the right of freedom of religious belief to people under the age of 18 and does not allow religious teaching in schools, leading the Rapporteur to call on the Chinese to introduce legislation guaranteeing the right of minors to religious belief, and to set up universities mainly dedicated to religious education.

China's insistence that members of the Communist Party be atheists was specifically criticised, with the Rapporteur calling for Party members to be allowed religious freedom, like other citizens. Officials told him that Party members from the "ethnic minorities" were exempt from the ban on religious belief within the Party, that people under 18 could join monasteries if parents gave consent, and that there are no police stations or policemen stationed in monasteries. All these claims were directly contradicted by official proclamations issued in Tibetan newspapers before and during the Rapporteur's visit.

Despite dozens of official meetings, mostly at deputy minister level, the UN delegation did not get to talk to any cadres representing the Communist Party and so had no direct contact with China's policy makers.

Panchen Lama Search Continues, Under Police Surveillance

TIN News Report/10 March 1995

The Chinese authorities are closely monitoring Tibetan attempts to locate the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, the second highest dignitary in the Gelugpa school and the highest religious leader remaining in Tibet who died in January 1989.

On 19th October 1994 senior monks from Tashilhunpo monastery, the traditional seat of the Panchen Lama, held a three day ceremony at Lhamo Latso, Tibet's most important Oracle lake, in an attempt to confirm the location of the reincarnation. The ceremony was conducted by four monk, with three other monks in attendance.

The lake, just over 1 km in circumference and situated 90 km north-east of Tsethang, is famous for a vision of a golden-roofed house reputedly seen in its waters by the party searching for the current Dalai Lama in the spring of 1935. The visions are traditionally watched from a high ridge, known as the throne, about a kilometre above the lake itself.

The four monks conducting the ceremony sat in a row on the throne facing the lake and recited *mantras*, according to two western tourists who came across the search team by chance. Two of the four celebrants were high lamas, both in their 50s or older, wearing

ceremonial cloaks and hats, and using bells, *dorjes*, and other tantric insignia. They also had more modern instruments: they used binoculars to look into the lake, presumably to see signs in the water.

In their entourage were three other Tibetan monks, in lay clothes, two of whom made tea and prepared food, while a third filmed parts of the ceremony on a video camera. Also present was a monk from Choekhorgyal Gonpa, a small monastery at present being rebuilt by ten monks situated just below the throne, together with two other monks and a solitary pilgrim.

After three days the monks returned by foot to Gyatsa *xian*, a small town 40 km south of the lake, from where they continued their journey back to Tsethang and on to Shigatse, where Tashilhunpo monastery is situated. The two tourists who had seen the lamas on the throne met the group by chance again in Gyatsa, and hitched a lift with them to Tsethang.

Police Intervention

Within a few days the Chinese police began to show a strong interest in the two Australians, who would have been visible in some of the videos filmed at the throne by the monks. When they returned to Lhasa police sought them out at their hotel, saying they were carrying out a routine check for visas, and asked for a list of all places they had visited in Tibet. The Australians gave a list of everywhere they had been to, including Lhamo Latso, which is officially off-limits to tourists without special permits. Police returned their passports after taking down details about when they were leaving Lhasa.

The next day, 2nd November, the two tourists set off for Nepal but at a hotel in Shigatse were again checked that night by officials from the Public Security Bureau who were apparently only looking for Australians. Early on the morning of 3rd November the two tourists were detained by Shigatse police. Their passports were confiscated, they were told not to talk to each other and they were taken to the Public Security Bureau and put in separate rooms.

Police questioned them for several hours over the next two days, with two Tibetan women officers questioning the woman, and two men, one Chinese and one Tibetan, questioning the male tourist. Two male officers, also one Chinese and one Tibetan, arrived from Lhasa, apparently to supervise the questioning.

On the first day the two westerners were asked in detail about which places they had visited, and were made to write a self-criticism admitting that they had violated regulations by visiting restricted areas without a special permit and by camping without a temporary residence permit.

Their belongings were searched thoroughly, with all the seams being checked and tubes of insect repellent squeezed out to check the contents. Officers also carried out a body search on each of the suspects. The tourists were asked why they did not have a journal or diary with them. A personal letter was found in the baggage, of which police read out one sentence which

referred to a previous visit by the Australians to Dharamsala, seat of the exiled Dalai Lama in India.

On the second day questioning focussed almost exclusively on the visit to Lhamo Latso and the lift from Gyatsa to Tsetang, as well as on an earlier visit by the two tourists to Tashilhunpo. They were asked exactly how long they had stayed at the lake, if they had talked to the monks and if the monks had given them anything.

The travellers were allowed to return to their hotel in the evenings and to walk around the city, but were followed. They were delayed but not prevented by the officials from contacting their Embassy in Beijing, although officials would not provide the phone number.

At the end of the third day instructions were received apparently from Lhasa saying that the two could be released after paying a 500 yuan fine each. The letter mentioning Dharamsala, their maps and all their films were confiscated. Their passports were returned and they were driven in a police vehicle to the Nepal border.

The Public Security officials appear to have been mainly concerned about whether the Tashilhunpo monks had given or said anything to the tourists that could be taken out to Dharamsala or to the Dalai Lama. "What is clear is that they were unhappy that unauthorised people had witnessed this event," said one of the westerners.

Panchen Re-incarnation Decision Imminent

The pursuit and arrest of the westerners indicates that the visit of the monks to the Lake, and the selection process for the Panchen Lama, was closely monitored by police.

The monks did not disclose to the tourists the results of their visit to the Oracle Lake, but other sources have since indicated that the choice of the four candidates for the re-incarnation of the Panchen Lama has now been made, and that a final selection from the four children will be announced in March or April, with the enthronement to be followed two months later at Tashilhunpo Monastery.

The selection of the child is the most important political decision currently facing Tibetans, and the news that the Tashilhunpo monks are using traditional divination methods to assist the selection process suggests that the monastery has been able to maintain some involvement in the process, despite the insistence of the Chinese authorities that only the state has the right to control the choice of the successor.

The Tashilhunpo monks, usually regarded as compliant to Chinese demands, appear to be carrying out the selection process according to traditional practices and are now expected to make even the final choice of candidate themselves, asking the Chinese only to recognise their decision. Controversy surrounds the question of the Chinese and the Tashilhunpo monks will agree on the same candidate as the exiled Dalai Lama, who has the option of carrying out his own searches.

In July 1993 Chadrel Rimpoche, the senior lama at Tashihiunpo, officially informed a delegation from the exile Tibetan government then visiting Beijing that the monastery wanted the Dalai Lama to "support" their

search for the re-incarnation, a sign that the monks will seek approval from the Dalai Lama before informing the Chinese of their final decision.

Chinese News Reports on Religion:

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press concerning religion in TAR and Qinghai, September-November 1994. The first date is the date the article was published or broadcast in China. The date in brackets at the end of each paragraph is the date the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. Many of the items in this selection deal with the official propaganda in response to the journey of the 11 year old Karmapa to Beijing.

Karmapa's Trip to China

21 September: Chen Kuiyuan, TAR party secretary, and Gyaicain [Gyaltsen] Norbu, Government Chairman, met 'Living Buddha' [Trulku] Garmaba [the Karmapa], *Tibet Daily* reported. Chen praised the Curbo [Tsurphu] monastery, where the Garmaba is studying, for co-operating with the government and hoped it would recognise "the separatists' sinister aim". (11 October)

25 September: Luo Gan, secretary general of the State Council, met the 17th 'Living Buddha', Garmaba, after he flew in from Lhasa, Xinhua reported. Luo said the central government was trying as hard as it could to speed up Tibet's development, and hoped "the Garmaba would study hard and carry on the tradition of patriotism". (1 October)

26 September: Zhao Puchu, president of the China Buddhist Association, met the 17th Garmaba, Xinhua reported. The Garmaba's teacher told Zhao that the Curbo [Tsurphu] monastery, where he lives, has been fully restored and old scriptures reprinted. The number of the Garmaba's disciples had grown, and the teacher attributed this to China's freedom-to-believe policy. (1 October)

27 September: Li Ruihuan, chairman of the CPPCC [and member of the ruling Politbureau Standing Committee] met the 'Living Buddha', Xinhua reported. Li stressed that Tibet is an integral part of China. (1 October)

29 September: The 'Living Buddha' performed his first major religious activity in Beijing in the Yonhegong lamasery, Xinhua reported [...] The 10-year-old 'Living Buddha' [trulku] had meetings with senior leaders, visited a steel works and toured historical sites. (1 October)

29 September: Chen Xitong, secretary of the Beijing party committee, gave a banquet for the 'Living Buddha', Xinhua reported. Li Zhijian, deputy secretary of the Beijing City Party Committee, told the 'Living Buddha' there were 1300 Tibetans working, studying and living in the capital. Beijing has build a Tibetan middle school and is to set up a "Tibetan mansion" [?] shortly. (1 October)

1 October: The 17th Buddha Garmaba shook hands with Jiang Zemin, CCP general secretary, during the National Day party for 100,000 people in Tiananmen,

Xinhua reported. Jiang asked the Garmaba's teacher to train him into a patriotic 'Living Buddha'. (3 October)

2 October: Wang Zhaoguo, vice-chairman of the CPPCC, in Beijing presented the Garmaba with gifts, Xinhua reported. "According to Chinese tradition, every reincarnated 'Living Buddha' should be approved by the central government. The 17th Garmaba, the leader of the Gagyudpa [Kagyupa] or White Sect of Lamaism, is the first reincarnated 'Living Buddha' accepted by the Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council since the foundation of the People's Republic". (11 October)

13 October: The 17th 'Living Buddha' Garmaba ended his south China tour in Shanghai. In two weeks he visited Beijing, Tianjin and Shanxi. (17 October)

13 October: The 17th living buddha Garmaba went to Sichuan on leaving Shanghai, the last stop on his three-week tour from Tibet, Xinhua reported on 17 October. He was "warmly received" by leading officials of Sichuan, which has a "big Tibetan population". The 10 year old Garmaba climbed Emei mountain, on of four major sacred spots of Buddhism in western Sichuan. He was due to return to Curbo monastery in Tibet, where he lives, after a few days. (19 October)

19 October: The 17th 'Living Buddha' Garmaba visited Zhikungtu temple in Mazhokunggar [Meldrogungkar] county, Tibet, Xinhua reported. The temple, more than 170 km north-east of Lhasa, is one of the four major temples of the Gagyudpa School (white sect) of Tibetan Buddhism. The 'Living Buddha' left his home at Curbo monastery last month and will return there tomorrow. (22 October)

21 October: Thirteen monasteries and mosques, including the Curbo Monastery and the Grand Mosque, were praised for "outstanding patriotic and law-abiding performance", Xinhua reported. However, "Religion is not allowed to interfere in national administration, legislation, school education and public social education, nor is it allowed to undermine the Communist Party's leadership and socialism, national unification and ethnic unity", noted Losang Toinzhub [Lobsang Dondrup], vice-chairman of the TAR government and mayor of Lhasa. (29 October)

25 October: The 17th 'Living Buddha' Garmaba ended his three-week tour of inland China and returned to the Curbo monastery last weekend, Xinhua reported. "The government respects religious affairs and cares much about the Garmaba, officials said", Xinhua recorded. The Garmabas, leaders of the Gagyudpa or "white school", one of the biggest sects of lamaism, have been treated with "due importance" by the central government for more than 700 years, Xinhua declared. (29 October)

Religion in Western Sichuan and Qinghai

11 September: Ethnic minorities make up over five million people and take up 56% of the territory of Sichuan province, the Sichuan Daily reported. Economic development here is slower than the rest of Sichuan and other nationalities areas in other parts of China, it notes. The second problem, it points out, is the "destabilising factors" of religion, clashes over different customs and economic growth, and the role of hostile forces abroad who support "separatists". Work on religious affairs must be done well, the paper said, so that the party's policy of freedom of belief and of preventing criminal activities using religion are both implemented. (31 October)

18 October: The first phase of the renovation of the Ta'er monastery (Kumbum) has recently been finished, Xinhua reported. This involved the renovation of two main halls. The monastery was built in the Ming dynasty in memory of Zong Ka Ba (Tsongkhapa), founder of the yellow sect of Tibetan Buddhism. It was later expanded to become one of China's six famous temples of Lamaism. It preserved over 10,000 brilliant Tibetan style halls and 20,000 religious paintings, appliques and sculptures. "Much of the monastery deteriorated over the centuries and was damaged by earthquakes since 1990". In 1991 Beijing decided to allocate 36m yuan for renovation, which will proceed in three phases. (22 October)

Religion and Internal Politics in TAR

18 August: The TAR's "Interim Regulations on Public Security" were adopted by the TAR people's congress standing committee, *Tibet Daily* reported on 13 September. Chapter 1 listed the general principles: the fundamental tasks of public security are to combat those who aim to split the motherland and commit social evils, and to manage temples and monasteries well in order to prevent religious activities which endanger the unity of the motherland. Chapter 5 of the Regulations says that ideological, moral and legal education should be given by local authorities especially in temples and monasteries. (10 October).

8 September: At a special session of the TAR Party committee devoted to studying the Third Forum, Chen Kuiyuan, Tibet party secretary, said that no party members should hold religious beliefs, *Tibet Daily* reported. (4 October)

27 September: Zhou Dunyou, an official from the TAR Nationalities Affairs Commission who has worked in Tibet for 30 years, said the Tibetan people had enjoyed full freedom in religious belief over the last ten years, Xinhua reported. During the 1980-93 period 200m yuan was earmarked for the repair of 1,600 monasteries and temples in Tibet. "Democratic managerial committees" have been set up in all monasteries, and "monks and nuns have gone into business", which provides a stable source of income. (1 October)

29 September: Guo Jinlong, Tibet CCP deputy secretary, delivered a national-day speech stressing unity with China and adherence to the guidelines of the Third Forum, Lhasa radio reported. He called for

strengthened resistance to "splittism", which was "grim". Religious activities should be carried out within "boundaries", cadres should be "purified", discipline enforced, education for youngsters strengthened, and security work should "give full play to the pillar role of dictatorship", he added. (11 October)

30 October: Gaincain Norbu was interviewed by a Xinhua reporter, Pingjia, on the Law for Regional Autonomy for a broadcast by Beijing radio to Taiwan. Norbu said this law had "greatly promoted" progress in Tibet and noted that bodies in Tibet had exercised their autonomous authority. He stressed the economic development of recent years and declared that religious freedom was preserved and monks' rights and activities protected. Looking to the future, he again stressed development as a matter of "national equality". (21 November)

30 October: Lu Huimin, standing committee member of the TAR party committee, urged improvement in grass-roots party organisations and the weeding out of party members who are religious, Lhasa radio said. Members, he urged, should "resolutely rectify grass-roots party organisations that are politically weak, loosely organised, seriously disorganised by religion or even manipulated by temples".

Lu stressed a tighter party organisation among peasants and herdsmen, and recruitment only of those qualified - no religious believers or polygamists, he particularly mentioned. Special attention should be paid to members' attitudes to separatism, while those who use religion to "divide the motherland" should be "liquidated from the party". (7 November)

10 November: Gyamco, executive vice-chairman of the TAR government, praised "patriots in religious circles" at a regional commendation meeting for "advanced temples and monasteries" at the Tibet Hall of the People in Lhasa, Lhasa TV reported. Present were Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, vice-chairman of the national committee of the CPPCC and chairman of the TAR committee; Guo Jinlong and Danzim [Tenzin], deputy secretaries of the TAR party committee, Samding Doje Pamo [Dorje Pagmo] Deqinquzen [Dechen Choedron] and Yongzhonggawa [Yangzom Gawa?], vice-chairmen of the TAR people's congress standing committee, Luosang Danzeng [Lobsang Tenzin], vice-chairman of the TAR CPPCC and head of United Front work, Yaoxi Wangdui [Yeshe Wangdu] and Qiazha Qiangbachile [Chadra Jampa Thrinley], vice-chairmen of the TAR CPPCC committee, and ?Bumi Qiangbaluozuo [Jampa Thrinley], chairman of the Tibetan branch of the China Buddhist Association. Yang Tongxiang, deputy director of the Bureau of Religious Affairs in Beijing made a special trip to Lhasa for the meeting.

16 November: Tibet has honoured 46 monasteries and 160 abbots, Xinhua reported. It was the first time the TAR had commended advanced monasteries and their managers. "It reflects the government's care for religions and religious believers", said a 'Living Buddha' honoured this time. They were honoured for achievements in managing and repairing monasteries, protecting and sorting cultural relics, training novices and carrying out social and public welfare services, Xinhua added. (21 November)

21 November: Lhasa radio reported speeches made by Chen Kuiyuan, secretary of the TAR party committee, on his tour of Nyingchi [Nyingtri (Kongpo)] prefecture from 8 to 13 November. Chen stressed the need to implement the guidelines of the Third Forum, and first to "strengthen the anti-splittism struggle and identify the Dalai clique's splittist activities as the root of

Tibet's instability", he said. Among the points he made in a series of speeches were that party members must be atheists (No.6), that some localities have been affected by "religious mania" to oppose party programmes (No.7), and that religion must not be used as pretext for subverting stability (No.8). (26 November)

RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGIOUS PRACTICE IN TIBET:

Part B: Notes on Selected Issues and Concerns

Tibet Information Network, 15 November, 1994

The Chinese Constitution promises the "freedom to believe or not to believe" to those living under Chinese rule. Since the reform period began in 1979 there have been some attempts to realise this previously ignored promise. In Tibet this has include permission being granted in over a thousand cases for monasteries and temples to be re-built, and for over 35,000 Tibetans to enter them.

However, there are significant areas in which restrictions on religious practice remain, and several in which restrictions appear to be increasing significantly - most notably the reported ban in 1994 on religious practice amongst government officials in the Tibet Autonomous Region, and the bans on the sale or distribution of photographs of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa. In addition several hundred Tibetan monks and nuns remain in prison on charges which by international standards are arbitrary.

The fact that all or most of these prisoners are accused of making statements criticising the Chinese regime in Tibet has been interpreted by some Western observers as meaning that there are no religious prisoners in Tibet, and thus has led observers to by-pass evidence of religious restrictions there. In fact there are important limitations on religious practice in Tibet which fall short of actual imprisonment. Most of these are reflections of the deep involvement of the lay political authorities (who, in the case of the Party, are explicitly atheistic and anti-religious) in the day to day running of the religious institutions. This phenomenon is equally true in other areas under Chinese control, but in Tibet the widespread involvement of clergy in political protest makes the restrictions of special significance. The following notes indicate some of the restrictions imposed by the political authorities on religious practice in Tibet.

1.1 Double Jeopardy ("*non bis in idem*"): Nuns Banned from Re-entering Nunneries After Completion of Prison Sentences.

The Chinese authorities in the TAR have consistently banned Buddhist nuns from re-entering nunneries once they have been convicted or accused of a political offence. The same restrictions may also apply to monks, but no research has been carried out on this.

This constitutes a discriminatory system of additional punishment against these nuns, and is a form of double jeopardy, since the nuns have already served prison

sentences for the alleged offences. This additional punishment appears to be based solely on their religious affiliations.

The activities for which the nuns were sentenced in all cases constituted the non-violent expression of their opinions and of their religious beliefs, and there is no manifest legal basis for denying the women the right to resume their livelihood or for denying them the right to carry out religious practice or join a religions order.

1.2 Expulsions at the Request of Political Bodies

The actual decision to refuse re-admission to nuns returning from prison is communicated to the women by the Democratic Management Committee of each nunnery. Evidence suggests that this decision is made under pressure from the local political authorities, and is not a free choice of the Management Committee.

The Management Committees apparently act at the demand of the local "work team" (Chinese: *gongzuo dui*, Tibetan: *ledun rukhag*), a political education unit sent periodically to the nunnery by the county Party committee (see the case of YY).

Nun Imprisoned and Expelled: Sample Case 1

Name: Ngawang Kyizom

Age: 22

Nunnery/residence: Ani Tsangkhang nunnery in Lhasa

Birthplace: Meldrogungkar Rutog

Sentenced to 3 years for demonstrating on 14 September October 1990

Now in India.

Ngawang Kyizom escaped to India in 1993. She said that no nunnery would accept her after she finished a two and a half year prison sentence in September 1993. "No one who has been in prison will be permitted to rejoin a monastery or nunnery. Everyone knows that that is the situation," she told TIN. "I couldn't get admission to Tsangkhang nunnery. They said I had been in prison and that I was just a wanderer and vagabond", she said.

The "work teams" carry out political re-education campaigns and last year spent up to 3 months in regular visits to each of the five main nunneries in or near Lhasa - Chubsang, Garu, Tsangkhang, Michungri and

Shungseb. The teams, usually consisting of nine or ten party cadres, held indoctrination sessions and imposed new regulations, including the ban on admission to the nunnery for any woman who has been detained for political activities.

1.3 Restrictions on Expelled Nuns

These cases also show that restrictions are placed on the nuns after release, even if they do not re-join a nunnery. One nun reports that although she was not allowed to return to her nunnery, she was allowed to pray at home in her village. However, the village officials said that she was not allowed to go to Lhasa to attend religious ceremonies there.

Nun Expelled: Sample Case 2

Name: YY

[note: the real name has been withheld, as YY has returned to Tibet]

Age: 18

Nunnery/residence: Michungri nunnery

Birthplace: Phenpo

Sentenced to 2 years for demonstrating on 14 August 1991. Now in Tibet

YY finished a two year prison sentence in August 1993. She says the decision to ban was taken by the local "work team".

"When I left Trisam [reform through education camp] they gave me a discharge paper and said I could return to the nunnery, but later I found I could not, because a work team was there," she said. She later fled to India to join a nunnery there.

1.4 Expulsions of Nuns with Political Sympathies

These cases of the expulsion from nunneries of former prisoners are additional to well-documented cases of the expulsion of nuns from nunneries on suspicion of political activities or political sympathies.

Nun Expelled: Sample Case 3

Name: Tenzin Choekyi

Age: 24 yrs

Nunnery/residence: Michungri nunnery, near Lhasa

Birthplace: Chushul

Sentenced to 3 years for demonstrating in October 1989. Now in India.

After her release from Trisam prison on 14th October 1992, Tenzin Choekyi went back to her nunnery to collect her belongings. "I felt sad that I was not re-admitted," she told TIN, but she also noted that there was no religious teacher in Michungri nunnery anyway.

The officials had told her mother that she could practice her religion in her village but that she was not allowed to go to Lhasa for religious teachings or prayer ceremonies.

Up to 200 nuns and monks were expelled from nunneries and monasteries near Lhasa in April 1990 on suspicion of nationalist sympathies, whether or not they had been convicted by a court or administrative tribunal. Partial lists of the names of these expellees were compiled in 1990 by TIN and are available.

The "work teams" who moved into the five nunneries in the Lhasa area in the summer of 1993 are reported to have ordered the Management Committee of each nunnery to expel nuns who were suspected of pro-independence activities or sympathies, as well as those who had been detained for demonstrating.

"These days there are about 37 or 38 nuns at Michungri nunnery compared to 90 in 1989 when the nunnery was restored", according to a nun at Michungri, speaking in December 1993. "Most have been expelled or are in prison".

2.1 Political Interference in Religious Establishments

Religious establishments in Tibet and China are not autonomous institutions and are not free to make their own decisions. They are controlled and monitored by lay political organisations, some of which are atheist as a matter of policy. These organisations include

- the Religious Affairs Bureau (for the local Government)
- the local Party Committee (for the Communist Party)
- the *ledun rukhag* (the work teams, operating for the local Party Committee)
- the *paichusuo* (sub-police stations set up in monasteries on behalf of the Public Security Bureau (Gong An Ju).

The first two organisations intervene in the running of the nunneries and monasteries by controlling:

- the construction of monasteries
- the income of the monasteries
- the appointment of the Management Committee and the Abbots
- the selection of individuals to join monasteries
- the numbers allowed to join each monastery
- the writing of regulations governing the behaviour of the inmates of the monasteries.

The last two organisations (work teams and sub-police stations) intervene only at special occasions (eg., during political education campaigns or after periods of unrest) and in particular monasteries or temples where there are concerns about that the monks and nuns have nationalist sympathies.

Political control of major monasteries and nunneries was greatly increased in the TAR during and after the period of martial law (1989-1990). The justification for increasing political control was clearly stated in a speech given by Gyaltsen Norbu, the TAR Governor, on 17th October 1990⁸

⁸ Published as *Party Circular Number 20 (1990)*, issued by the Office of the Tibetan Autonomous Region Party Committee, 8 November 1990, entitled: "Comrade Jiangcun Luobu's [Gyaltsen Norbu's] speech at the Regional Conference on Basic Work on Public Security in Grassroots Units". This is an internal document sent to Party Committees and Police

In order to achieve long term security, the management control of the monasteries must be strengthened. Dozens of years of anti-splitist struggle have taught us a lesson. The many disturbances in the past and the uprising in 1959 show that there are weak points in our management [guanli] and control [zhangwo] of monasteries. They also show that we must keep a close eye on monasteries.

Our control of monasteries is in accordance with regulations on religious freedom. Clear rules on religion were laid down both in our country's Constitution, and in the Party's policies on religion.

The Governor went on to say that controlling monasteries was dependent on controlling the Democratic Management Committees, identifying pro-Communist monks, and placing police units inside major monasteries. We now look at each of these methods in more detail:

2.2 Controlling Appointments to the Democratic Management Committees

Each monastery has a Democratic Management Committee, for which the monks or nuns can vote. However, only people approved by the party are allowed to stand for the election. The TAR Governor, Gyaltsen Norbu, described in his October 1990 speech the importance of making sure that the membership of the Committees is limited to pro-government monks:

Controlling monasteries actually means solving the following two problems: the first is that no matter how, we must ensure that the Democratic Management Committees [minguanhui] are in the hands of people who support the leadership of the Communist Party, the socialist system, and the preservation of the unity of the Motherland. This is the question of leadership. [emphasis added]

In addition, the Party has to identify and train monks and nuns who will support its objectives, presumably so they can provide support for the committee, according to the Governor.

The second [problem] is that we must fully use, discover and educate activists among monks and nuns. This is the question of unifying, educating and winning over the majority.

When we win over these two forces [People's Management Committees and pro-communist activists], and set up a perfect management system and rules, then the management and control of monasteries should be no problem. Even if a problem arises, we will still be able to keep the general situation under control.⁹

In 1992 the same objective was repeated in another internal speech on security policy by one of the Governor's deputies, vice secretary Tsultrim (Chinese:

Zi Cheng). Tsultrim, speaking to policemen on 25th August 1992, said:

We must overcome some areas and cadres who don't dare to administer temples according to the law, who don't dare to put a stop to illegal religious activities justly and forcefully [lizihi qiyán], and who don't dare to struggle against splitist activities carried out in the guise of religious activities. We must completely implement the graded administration of temples, the public administration responsibility system and establish good grassroots organisations in temples. We must thoroughly clear up the few temples with outstanding problems, firmly eliminate splitist elements hiding in the monasteries.⁹

Tsultrim is referring to the need to control Management Committees, to send in work teams, and to identify and neutralise monks who are supporters of the Dalai Lama.

The TAR Government work report of 1994, which is a public document, refers to the same policies but in more guarded language, saying that the authorities have "strengthened the administration of religious affairs". This is a coded way of referring to controlling monastery management committees by making sure the members are Party supporters. It also refers to introducing stronger regulations.

It is important to study the language of the 1994 Government Work Report. This makes it clear that the TAR authorities are intending in 1994-5 to place even stronger controls over religious institutions:

In fully implementing the party's policy on religion, we should [...] resolutely overcome the phenomenon of weakness in not boldly attending to and managing problems which emerge in the religious field and in letting things run their course without interference; conscientiously enforce "The Regulations on the Management of Places of Religious Activities" and "The Provisions on Managing Foreign Nationals' Religious Activities Within the Boundaries of the PRC", both promulgated by the State Council; and firmly manage temples and religious affairs according to law.

It is necessary to ban and crack down on activities conducted in the name of religion to split the motherland, commit crimes, or interfere in state administration, judicial affairs, education, marital affairs and normal production in society.

Religious activities should be strictly placed within the limits permitted by both constitution and law. While resolutely preventing separatists from using religion for infiltration, it is necessary to actively guide religion to adapt itself to a socialist society by using certain positive factors in religion to serve socialism; justly and forcefully to publicize atheism,

committees in the TAR. See *TIN News Review*, September 1992.

⁹ *Tibet Comprehensive Management of Public Security Committee Publication No 1 (1992)*, issued 4th September 1992, entitled "Taking Further Steps in Promoting the Comprehensive Management of Public Security, in Order to Create a Favourable Environment for Reform, Liberalisation and Economic Construction in Tibet". An internal document, TIN Ref 10(YM).

*scientific knowledge and anti-superstition efforts among the broad masses; to suppress firmly and crack down on both sorceresses and sorcerers who conduct feudal, superstitious activities to swindle money and harm the people; to strengthen education on patriotism and law observance among monks and nuns; and to direct the enthusiasm of the masses - with or without religious beliefs - to reform, opening up, economic development and efforts to revitalize Tibet.*¹⁰

2.3 Placing of Sub-Police Stations [paichusuo] Inside or Beside Monasteries

Troops of the People's Liberation Army were placed in camps around the major monasteries near Lhasa (including Drepung, Ganden and Sera) during the martial law period from March 1989 to May 1990, controlling the movement of monks. After the end of martial law in May 1990, these troops were replaced by small police units which were positioned inside the monasteries. These are known as local police stations or sub-police stations [paichusuo]. These were described by the Governor, Gyaltzen Norbu, in his October 1990 speech:

Right now, local police stations [paichusuo] are being established in some major monasteries, and management offices are also being established in some monasteries by the relevant departments.

It is not known if these police stations are still in operation inside monasteries or nunneries.

There are regular report of the use of security forces to control monasteries and nunneries. It is known that troops of the People's Liberation Army or the People's Armed Police were stationed round the monastery of Sungrabling, in Kyimshi township, Chideshol valley, Gongkar county, Lhokha Prefecture in June 1993, and that troops of the People's Armed Police were stationed around the nunnery of Shar Bumpa and the monastery of Ganden Choekor both in Phenpo county, Lhasa Municipality, on or around June 17th and 18th 1994, preventing the movement of the monks and nuns, carrying out searches, investigations and arrests following a reported political protest. It is not known how long these military exercises took place, or how many people were arrested or punished.

During sensitive periods before and after festivals and anniversaries, the police regularly put road blocks round the three major monasteries and nunneries, preventing the monks or nuns from travelling into Lhasa. These periods are around March 5th-10th, October 1st, and sometimes December 10th (International Human Rights Day).

2.4 Sending of "Work Teams" to Monasteries

On 3rd October 1987, two days after unrest broke out in the TAR, "work teams" (Chinese: *gongzuo dui*, Tibetan: *ledun rukhag*) were sent to all the major monasteries around Lhasa. They were teams of party

officials who were instructed to carry out political education and to identify monks and nuns with nationalist sympathies. By definition the members of the teams are atheists.

Work Teams were sent to monasteries and nunneries on many occasions after 1987. At least one monk, Tsering Dondrup, was arrested after publicly disagreeing with the 8 member work team during a political education session at Ratoo monastery, in Chushul county, in 29 September 1988. He was sentenced to 3 years and was allegedly tortured and beaten during or after arrest. Lobsang Tsondrue ("Hor Geshe"), currently in Drapchi prison, is serving a 7 years sentence for a similar offence. In April 1990 he publicly objected to the decision of the Drepung Monastery Management Committee, on the orders of the "work team", to expel 37 monks from Drepung. He is over 70 years old and was badly beaten during the protest following the visit of US Ambassador Lilley to Drapchi Prison in April 1991.

Sample Cases: Nuns Expelled from Shungsep Nunnery, April 1990

Name	Age	birthplace
Tenzin Choeden	24	Tamta <i>xiang</i>
Tsering Choekyi	22	Tamta <i>xiang</i>
Urgyen	23	Nyemo <i>xiang</i>
Urgyen Choejor	27	Nyemo <i>xiang</i>
Rigzin Kunsang	26	Nyemo <i>xiang</i>
Tsering	26	Nyemo <i>xiang</i>
Tsewang Choedon	27	Bathang
Choenyi Choezom	36	Yardok Dongpa <i>xiang</i>
Tsamkyi	23	Yardok Dongpa <i>xiang</i>
Sangye Drolma	22	Yardok Dongpa <i>xiang</i>
Rigzin Choeden	26	Lhokha
Kalsang Pema	27	Lhokha
Pasang	26	Lhokha
Tenzin Drolma	25	Taktse dzong
Kalsang	22	Lhokha
Nyima	26	Lhokha
Sherab Choeden	27	Lhokha
Kalsang Choekyi	26	Lhokha
Urgyen Drolma	22	Lhokha
Nyodrup Tsoom	23	Lhokha
Jamyang Palmo	22	Lhokha
Norbu Choeden	22	Lhokha
Rigzin Choenyi	27	Lhokha
Phurbo Choedon	24	Sangda
Lochoe	24	Sangda
Penpa	23	Nechung
Pasang	23	Nechung

The most notorious "blitz" by work teams in monasteries and nunneries in the Lhasa area took place in February-April 1990, when they identified around 200 monks and nuns who were then expelled for having political sympathies. This included 37 from Drepung monastery, 18 from Ganden monastery, 7 from the Jokhang Temple, around 100 nuns from

¹⁰ TAR Government Work Report, as delivered by Gyaltzen Norbu on 15th May 1994. Published in *Xizang Ribao*, Lhasa, in Chinese on 6th June 1994 pp 1-3, translated by the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts 1st July 1994. This is a public document.

Chubsang nunnery, 27 from Shungsep nunnery and 16 from Ani Tsangkhang nunnery.

"Work teams" were sent to the five main nunneries near Lhasa in September 1993 (see note 1 above on Double Jeopardy) for up to three months, imposing regulations governing the number of nuns allowed to remain in the nunnery, controls on movement outside the nunneries, and a ban on nuns going into Lhasa without permission. They also demanded signed statements that the nuns would not support the independence movement.

The visit of the work teams to Shungsep nunnery in late 1993 was described by a 20 year old Shungsep nun who arrived in India in December 1993:

The authorities from Chushul [county] come up to the nunnery regularly to give political education. They gave us literature defaming His Holiness [the Dalai Lama] and this year they have been more strict than before. We have been making protests, especially on March 10th [anniversary of a 1959 Uprising], and that's the reason why. During the meetings they tell our teacher not to teach us about religion, but only to teach about what they and the army say.

2.5 Political Restrictions Concerning the Movement, Opinions and Religious Study of Individual Monks

The monks and nuns are also subject, as individuals, to extensive personal and political controls. These go beyond the limits to the free expression of opinion and belief defined in international standards. The controls demand in effect that monks are socialists and support the Communist Party, thus limiting their freedom of opinion and expression. The controls also limit their freedom of movement, forbidding them from leaving the area without government permission.

Sample Case 1: Political Restrictions on Opinions and on Movement in Monastery Regulations

(Source: the Regulations for Monastery X, October 1992 [TIN Doc 12(YA)])

Controls over the movement and thinking of individual monks and nuns are defined in the regulations imposed on each monastery, of which this text (TIN Ref 12(YA)) is a typical example.

The regulations begin in their first section with the demand that all monks accept the leadership of the Communist Party. These political demands are listed before any religious or other demands. The regulations demand a fixed number of political education session or legal education sessions in the monasteries.

The regulations also restrict the movement of monks:

The Township [xiang] People's Government will issue permission to go on leave if it is from ten to twenty days. The County Religious Affairs Bureau (dzong chos-don lhan-khang) will issue permission to go on leave for up to one month. If any monk leaves the monastery for more than one month without permission the person should be expelled from the monastery.

The significant aspect of these orders is not that the monks are restricted - this could in theory be a voluntary code of their order - but that the restriction is imposed by the civil authority.

The monastery regulations are co-signed by the Monastery Management Committee, but this does not mean that they are an internal monastery regulation: the primary signatories are the local People's Government and the local Township Work Team. These regulations are imposed by the civilian authorities on the religious institution, and the Monastery's committee would have been obliged to add its signature, acting under force.

(See Document 12(YA), below, for full text of the regulations of this monastery.)

Sample Case 2: Religious Teaching Banned Except with Permission

(Source: Tape Recording of the Religious Affairs Bureau Meeting at a monastery near Lhasa, July 1994)

A tape recording made by TIN of one official education session in a monastery near Lhasa (name withheld to protect source) in July 1994, records the representative of the local county Religious Affairs Bureau telling the monks about their legal rights. He declares a number of regulations, and makes it clear that religious teaching is forbidden without permission from the Religious Affairs Bureau.

The official from the Religious Affairs Bureau is accompanied by the leader of the local township government. All monks are expected to attend the meeting. He tells the monks that:

- *there is a fixed limit on the number of monks in each monastery*

- *from the time of this meeting the monks have no right to encourage anyone to take up religion*

- *that teaching cannot be given by a Lama without the permission of the Religious Affairs Bureau*

- *that monks from any other monastery must have permission to attend such teachings at the monastery*

- *the monks must fight against the "splittists"*

- *if the Religious Affairs Bureau comes to know about anyone speaking words in favour of independence, they will be "merciless".*

The official ends by saying "I know the older monks will not have an interest in [Tibetan] Independence, but you, the young ones, you had better take care, because I know everything that is happening here". He then confirms that a monk from the monastery who has been imprisoned for a political offence is banned from re-entering the monastery: "If he comes here, I will immediately know that his shadow is in the monastery", he warns the monks.

Sample Case 3: Monks Imprisoned for Missing Daily Political Education Session

(Source: Interview in India with a refugee Monk from Ngaba (Sichuan Province), October 1994)

The nature and frequency of political education meetings varies from area to area. Some reports suggest political interference in monasteries is more severe in some areas of Eastern Tibet, outside the TAR, than in central Tibet.

A monk from the monastery of Do-tsig in Ngaba (Chinese: Aba) in the Ngaba Tibetan autonomous area in Sichuan told TIN in an interview in October 1994 that in his monastery political education is compulsory. The education session takes place for two hours each day and is carried out by two Chinese teachers. Since 1991 three monks have been imprisoned for up to 6 months each for failure to attend the classes. In the classes the monks were required to criticise the Dalai Lama. The monk told TIN:

We have to learn about the progress which Mao and Deng Xiaoping brought to Tibet. We have to say that His Holiness ideas are bad. And we are warned that we should not make friends with foreigners, that they will destroy the nation.

Some people were sent to prison for not coming to the classes. [For example:] Wangchug Thubten. He was in prison for about 5-6 months in 1991. He is about 30. [And] Lobsang Choedrag. He's about 30 years old. He was in prison for about 5 months in 1992. And Choephel. He is around the same age. He was imprisoned for one month this year [1994]

Sample Case 4: Nun Expelled for Missing Annual Political Education Session

(Source: Interview in India with T., a 20-yr-old refugee nun from the Labrang area (Gansu Province), March 1995 (Doc.R30-FV2))

T: There was political education in the nunnery once every year and then only for two hours ... The Chinese would come to educate the nuns. And what they would say was that the nuns had to obey the Chinese laws, that His Holiness is not good, that if you go to India you will be arrested. If you try to escape you will be arrested [on the way], you have to obey the rule under the Chinese, and so on.

I didn't believe what they were saying and I felt very sad that they were criticising His Holiness. But I couldn't sort of voice my anger, I didn't know what other nuns thought about it. I just considered these things in my mind, I never thought about it, there might be Chinese spies, I couldn't understand who were spies, so I just kept these things to myself.

Last year [1994] I didn't attend the meeting, and because of that my name was crossed out on the list of the nunnery. And I was not allowed to stay at the nunnery any longer, so I left the nunnery in January (1994) and until April when I left Tibet I wasn't able to stay in the nunnery.

There was no single other nun who had not attended the meetings. They were all afraid they would be expelled from the nunnery. In my case, I just found

it intolerable ... I couldn't bear to hear him [the Dalai Lama] criticised.

If I wanted to try to join the nunnery again, I would have to go through that office, the Chi-de-Lekhung [Public Security Bureau]. I would have to bribe officials, which is difficult, so I didn't try.

3. Question of Political Interference in Selection of Religious Leaders: The Karmapa and the Panchen Lama

The selection of religious leaders is of enormous significance in political terms as well as religious terms in Tibet. The two most important leaders after the Dalai Lama both died in the 1980s, and the appointment of the successors has led to greatly increased interference by the Chinese authorities, and in particular by the Chinese Communist Party, in the selection process. Many Tibetans, in letters smuggled out of Tibet, have complained about Chinese interference in the selection process.

Case 1: Selection of the Panchen Lama

The 10th Panchen Lama, ranked number 2 in the Gelugpa or 'Yellow Hat' school, died in disputed circumstances in January 1989. He was the most important political figure remaining in Tibet since the flight of the Dalai Lama to India in 1959.

The Chinese authorities have published directives which lay down rules and limitations for the selection of a successor, which is currently the most important question in Tibetan politics. The 'rules' created by the Chinese authorities include restrictions over where the successor can be found, and give the authorities the right to control the selection process.

Ostensibly, the selection process is in the hands of Chadel (Chinese: Qiazhe (?)) Rinpoche, the abbot of Tashilhunpo monastery in Shigatse, seat of the Panchen Lamas. There are unofficial reports that he has been told to accept the Chinese authorities' nominee, but that he has so far refused to do so, or has delayed any decision. There are also reports that he has asked to be allowed to visit the Dalai Lama to discuss the selection process, but it is understood that the authorities have refused this request. (Note that, perhaps in order to preserve his status and position with the authorities, Chadel Rinpoche has taken an aggressive position against pro-independence sympathisers in his monastery).

In July 1993 Chadel Rinpoche was allowed to give an official letter to a delegation from the exile Tibetan government asking for "assistance" from the Dalai Lama in the selection process. There have been no further contact between the two sides, as far as we know.

Case 2: Karmapa, head of Kagyupa school, based in Tsurphu, near Lhasa

The 17th Karmapa, a young boy aged 11 yrs old, was 'discovered' by his followers in 1991. Chinese authorities demanded the right to 'recognise' the child,

and announced that no lama could be recognised without the approval of the Chinese authorities.

The followers of the new Karmapa, whose main colleagues are based in India or Sikkim, wished to take the child to visit India. The authorities have refused or delayed permission for the child to travel to India. Instead they have made the child travel on a highly-publicised tour to Beijing, Shanghai and Guangdong, during which numerous Chinese TV and press articles quoted the child as saying he "loves the Communist Party" and that he "prayed for the soul of Mao Tsetung".

These highly contentious statements are not credible in the mouth of a young child and amount to political manipulation of the future religious leader by the Chinese. The objective of the Chinese authorities is alleged to be: (a) to discredit the child before he is allowed to visit India, and (b) to set him and his school up as a pro-Chinese religious faction in opposition to the Dalai Lama and his Gelugpa school. The Chinese involvement looks certain to create rivalry and bitterness between the two schools.

The interference of the authorities in the selection, education, travel and recognition of religious leaders is a violation of the right to free religious practice, according to some Tibetans.

4. Additional Note: the Protection of Religious Artefacts

An increasing number of temples and monasteries in Tibet are being raided or ransacked by hired gangs or art

smugglers. As a result, religious objects of high value and religious significance are being smuggled to Hong Kong and Nepal. Most of this trade is carried out by Tibetans, often at the indirect request of Western art dealers. There are suspicions that some Chinese local officials are not active in stopping art smuggling.

The two most famous instances are the theft of the precious conch shell from Drepung monastery in 1991, and the theft of the main statue from Drolma Lhakhang in Nyethang Tashigang near Lhasa in 1994. The conch shell has not been traced, but the Drolma Lhakhang statue was traced New York, where it had allegedly been taken by a western art dealer based in Kathmandu. After extensive enquiries revealed the whereabouts of the statue the end purchaser offered to return it to Tibet.

Tibetan monks say that many of these thefts are a result of the strict limits imposed by the Chinese authorities on the number of monks permitted in each monastery or temple. These strict limits imposed by the local authorities mean that there are not enough monks to protect the temples in many areas, especially in Western Tibet, they say. They also accuse the police and authorities of insufficient effort in stopping smuggling of religious objects.

The Chinese authorities have made some efforts to prevent smuggling. In February 1995 they caught and arrested a Chinese man, who, aided by his Tibetan wife, had ransacked a temple at Sera monastery and removed a statue. The arrests were given extensive publicity by the Chinese media in Tibet.

RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGION: PART C: STATEMENTS FROM TIBET

Monastery Regulations

Monasteries have to issue their own rules, which are taught to the monks and which set down their permitted behaviour, movement, education and views. These regulations, which are not much concerned with religious activity, appear to be mainly official government rules imposed on the monasteries, and are countersigned by county-level officials from both the local government and the local Religious Affairs Bureau, the government body which oversees religious activity. This example was issued in May 1992 by a monastery in the Lhokha area of southern Tibet. The name of the monastery has been withheld to protect the source and it has been referred to here simply as "monastery X".

Details of the original document:

TIN Doc. Ref.: 12(YA)

Date Written: 29th May 1992

Date Received: 29 December, 1992

Original: 4 pages cyclostyled in Tibetan. Numbered at foot in Arabic numerals. Red stamp over name of issuing organ on p.4.

Title in Tibetan: [name withheld] shang [name withheld] dgon pa'i sgrig sril lam lugs gtan 'bebs byas pa'i skor.

Issued by: [name withheld] shang mi dmangs srid gzhung dang [name withheld] las don tsu'u dgon pa'i dmangs gtso bdag gnyer au yon than khang

Subject: monastery rules, Lhokha area

TIN Doc 12(YA)

The Rules and Regulations of Monastery X.

The Decisions on the Rules and the Disciplinary System of Monastery X in Township X [Tibetan: X shang X dgon-pa'i sgrig-srol lam-lugs gdan-'bebs byas-b'i'-skor].

The monastery functions under the conditions of socialism. Therefore, it has responsibility to protect the people's freedom of religion as well as to protect the legal rights of the monastery and its residents. Moreover, the monks should maintain their commitment to the practice of the socialist system and should follow the socialist path.

In short, the monastery should respect the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and oppose the behaviour and views of those small number of splittists. It should also strengthen the friendship between the nationalities and protect the unity of the motherland.

In order to fulfil the above tasks and to become national and religious patriots as well as to become law-abiding, patriotic and outstanding monks, the following special rules and systems should be implemented:

Section One: Political Education.

1) Every month [the monastery should] allocate one or two days to studying the constitution, law and criminal laws of the People's Republic of China so as to improve their legal education.

2) The monastery should announce the Party's policy, direction and work in a timely fashion and it should carry out the practice of the Four [Cardinal] Principles [the supremacy of the socialist system; the leadership of the Party; the supremacy of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong Thought; the dictatorship of the proletariat]. The capitalist [bourgeois] liberals and individualists should be opposed while promoting self-force and self-nature [rang-sdobs rang-bzhin, literally, our strength and our character].

3) In order to produce a good monk who respects the other monks and is devoted to the masses, as well as showing respect to outsiders, the monastery should concentrate on creating the Two Magnificents [dbyi lyon-gnyis, ie., magnificent thought and magnificent behaviour].

4) The monks should not only study culture, but they should also participate in religious teachings. Religious teaching will take place every day for two hours in the morning and two hours in the evening, which will be taught by the Chant master [dbu-mdzad lags]. Mr [name withheld] will be in charge of discipline.

Section Two: Religious Affairs.

Every monk has to participate in the routine religious ceremonies and the morning prayer meetings have to be continued. The rituals for the 8th, the 15th and the 30th of the Tibetan month should be observed regularly. In short, the monks should be able to develop expertise in Buddhist practices.

In order to train the monks in the field of Buddhist intellectual study, the monks should be well educated in Buddhist culture and its religion, which includes playing religious music, drums and instruments as well as making objects [required for use] in worship.

Section Three: The Preservation of Cultural Relics, Economics and Financial Management.

1) There should not be any situation where the financial director [or treasurer] and accountant fail to manage money affairs, such as the financial director failing to take responsibility in economic matters and the managers failing to take responsibility in financial matters, and especially not a situation where the accountant does not oversee matters concerning cash and various kinds of related transactions.

In particular the money coming from donations made by devotees, from [sales from the] vegetable garden and from the income related to animals should be given to the finance director on time and receipts given to each other must be used to check the bills.

2) In the process of making decisions regarding selling and buying important relics, the committee

should be involved and its unanimous agreement is required. It should not be based on the decision of one or two people. All the expenditure bills relating to such matters should be signed by the senior chairperson [of the monastery's Management committee].

3) Regarding the management of the relics, once every six months there should be a check against the list of items in the monastery so as to ensure nothing is missing. When a caretaker change his job or moves from his work, there should be a formal hand-over of the items according to the lists. If there is a situation in which an item is found to be missing, then it should be replaced or compensation should be provided.

4) There should be a report on the income of the monastery to the xiang [township] People's Government every six months and it should be publicly announced.

Section Four: Self-Reliant Monastery.

In order to continue to be self-reliant [rang-gso] so that the monastery feeds the monastery itself, and improve the living standard of the monks, the monastery should increase its income by every means. The existing land, vegetable field and mill should be cared for and used by every one. Relying on one's self, on hard-work and on manual labour, the monks should plant a couple of mu [a mu is one sixteenth of an acre] of forest every year. Moreover, the monks should find solutions to be self-reliant based on various methods.

Section Five: Rules and Discipline.

1) All the monks, young and old, should participate in the morning prayer meeting and if anyone fails to show up without permission to do so, the person will be fined one yuan as punishment.

2) Every one, regardless of whether they are young or old, who refuses to go to town as assigned by the Monastery will be fined ten yuan. Those who voluntarily go to town without permission from the monastery will be fined five yuan. People who failed to show up for the Fasting Ritual [gsol-chung] will be fined one yuan.

3) All the monks regardless of age, are Buddhist followers. Therefore, they should wear robes all the time except when they are doing physical labour.

There will be a five yuan fine for those who wear clothes other than monastic robes.

4) Every monk has to observe the rules of the monastery very carefully. Nobody is allowed to use fireworks, drink alcohol, play cards or insult women. There will be a one yuan fine for those who go to a cinema or watch a video film.

5) The Democratic Management Committee [dmangs-gso bdag-gnyer au-yon lhan-khang] can issue permission for anyone to go on leave for up to ten days. The xiang People's Government will issue permission to go on leave if it is from ten to twenty days. The County Religious Affairs Bureau [rdzong chos-don lhan-khang] will issue permission to go on leave for up to one month. If any monk leaves the monastery for more than one month without permission the person should be expelled from the monastery.

Section Six: Security.

1) In order to avoid the risk of fire in the monastery, the decay of relics, the replacement or loss of relics, as well as to avoid theft in the monastery, the caretakers on duty should always be alertful.

2) The caretakers are not allowed to leave the monastery without special reasons to do so. They should be alertful to the outsiders visiting the monastery. If one has to leave the monastery, the items which he looks after should be handed over properly.

3) Nobody can keep fake Lamas or fake monks and outsiders in the monastery.

Section Seven: Health.

1) Every month, the monastery promises and individual area should be cleaned twice continually. This will be overseen by the Health Councillors [names withheld].

[issued by:]

+ The [name withheld] People's Government
and [name withheld] Township Work Team.
+ The Democratic Management Committee for
the Monastery.
25th May 1992

Sealed: [name withheld] People's Government.

Summary of Written Submissions from Tibet Addressed to the UN

Summary written by TIN, 22 December, 1994

19 documents were received by TIN from Tibetans living in or near Lhasa which were written for submission to the UN Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance on the occasion of his visit to Lhasa on 25-27th November [1-15, 47, 61-4(WJ)]. 2 printed documents issued by the Chinese authorities concerning

religious policy were also been submitted by Tibetans, for the attention of the Rapporteur [29, 51(WJ)]. In addition a detailed report was submitted by a foreign resident in Lhasa with considerable knowledge of the subject [19(WJ)]. 2 other documents described

difficulties placed on contact with the Rapporteur [40, 66(WJ)].

The submissions were written or collected in Tibet during or immediately before the visit of the Rapporteur to Lhasa. The writers were unable to pass them to the Rapporteur in person because of security restrictions surrounding the delegation.

Summary of Allegations

The submissions note that the Chinese authorities have declared that there is a policy of religious freedom, including for Tibetans. The submissions claim that this policy does not exist in practice. They give examples of the following current restrictions on religious freedom:

- Ban on Possession of Photographs of His Holiness the Dalai Lama
- Ban on Religious Activities Amongst Government Employees
- Restriction on Reconstruction of Monasteries
- Limit on Admission of New Monks and Nuns
- Ban on Admission of Monks under 18 Years
- Restriction on Religious Teaching without Permission
- Punishments for Monks and Nuns Accused of Political Dissent
- Restrictions on the Lives and Movement of Monks and Nuns
- Restrictions on Released Prisoners
- Interference in the Selection of Religious Leaders
- Calls for China to Accede to International Instruments
- Interference with Attempts to Communicate with the Rapporteur

The submissions state that these restrictions are currently in force in the Tibet Autonomous Region. They give evidence that the proclamation and implementation of such restrictions has significantly increased in the area since July 1994, suggesting that these new restrictions are the result of policy changes agreed at a meeting in July. These are further details of the allegations:

Restrictions on Possession of Photographs of the Dalai Lama

All the submissions allege that in August 1994 or thereafter government orders were issued in various offices and areas in Tibet banning the display of photographs of the Dalai Lama, whom the writers describe as their political and spiritual leader.

Several submissions say that possession of the photographs is also banned, and that in some cases photographs have been confiscated or that people have been obliged to tear them up. In urban areas the ban is said to apply to members of the Communist Party, to Government employees, and to workers in government enterprises. Penalties include loss of earnings, being sacked, being "guilty of an offence", and unspecified "severe punishment". 1. 6(WJ)

"On 11th October 1994 an announcement was made in the office of the Tibet Autonomous Region Culture Affairs Department [Bod nang rig khung thing] that possession of photographs of the Dalai Lama is restricted," it was said. 9(WJ)

The submissions from certain rural areas outside Lhasa - notably Toelung Dechen county, Taktse country, a named township in Tsethang county, and Nagchu prefecture - claim that in those areas the ban applies to all Tibetans, including those who are not government employees. In Nagchu prefecture it was alleged that in November 1994 nomads were made to destroy photographs of the Dalai Lama:

"In Nagchu prefecture a strict order was issued prohibiting keeping photographs of the Dalai Lama both on altars and on the person. In November 1994 nomads were forced to publicly burn, tear up or otherwise get rid of photographs of the Dalai Lama. This exercise took place throughout this prefecture, irrespective of whether an individual was a member of the Communist Party or not," said the submission. 61-4(WJ)

The ban on photographs is reportedly related to a propaganda campaign which followed the 3rd National Forum on Tibet in July 1994. This required officials and monks and nuns to "clearly decide to separate themselves politically from 'the Dalai Clique'", according to the TAR Party Propaganda Circular, published under the title "The Golden Bridge to Reach the New Era", in *Tibet Daily*, 25th November 1994. 29. 51(WJ)

Ban on Religious Activities Amongst Government Employees

The submissions also allege that government employees in Tibet are no longer allowed to have in their houses an altar for religious purposes. Some submissions say that officials are not allowed to possess "any religious objects such as statues, scriptures and reliquaries", or to perform "any kind of religious activities". 3, 4, 5, 10, 11. 14(WJ)

The restriction is new and relates to a new decision to stop the increase in religious activity. It is confirmed by the Propaganda Circular of 25th November: "We must be cautious and patient about this matter and should never let religion spread unchecked [...] there is too much religious activity." *Tibet Daily*, 25th November 1994 51(WJ).

One submission claimed that an official document called Document No.8 had been issued in July 1994 by the Chinese Communist Party. The Document was said to aim "to place Tibet's religious traditions under tight scrutiny" and to be accompanied by a confidential protocol which called on officials "to stop immediately the increasing growth of Tibetan religion". 5(WJ)

The Document is said to ban government employees "from setting up a shrine for the purpose of prayer or worship. They are forbidden from engaging in any form of activity which involves religious symbols." 5(WJ)

One submission named the August 1st Military Farm in Lhasa where all employees had been told to dismantle altars, to remove prayer flags and to clear out incense-burning hearths. The homes of Tibetan employees were inspected by an official delegation who instructed the employees "that altars should be handed over to relatives living in villages who do not work for the

Government, and they said that failing to do so would bring consequences." 61-4(WJ)

One submission said that "in the regions of Nagchu, Chamdo and Markham, even using an altar for religious worship is banned." 4(WJ)

A foreigner resident in Tibet alleged that "Party and government workers in TAR have been briefed at length in recent months on the necessity of absolute loyalty to the 'Socialist Motherland', which is now interpreted as being incompatible with belief in Buddhism." 19(WJ)

Restrictions on the Reconstruction of Monasteries

It was alleged that the reconstruction of monasteries has been restricted. In the area of the 'One River, Two Streams' project near Lhasa, a major agricultural project including the United Nations agency the World Food Programme, "the rebuilding of monasteries has been restricted and there has been a ban on the admission of new monks and nuns." 21(WJ)

The Propaganda circular of 25th November indicates that a limit has been set on the number of monasteries, as well as of monks and nuns: "At present the number of monasteries, monks and nuns in our region are sufficient to fulfil the needs of the daily religious practice of the masses," *Tibet Daily*, 25th November 1994.

Limit on Admission of New Monks and Nuns

It was widely alleged that a fixed limit had been placed on the admission of monks to monasteries or nunneries, and that any monks or nuns who were additional to that limit must be expelled and sent to their home districts. "Document No. 8" was said to have ordered a fixed limit to be applied to each monastery or nunnery in Tibet.

One submission alleged that in Sera Monastery, Lhasa, where there are currently about 500 monks, the limit had been set at about 200. The monastery held about 10,000 monks before 1959. An official delegation had been sent to the monastery in August 1994 to issue a warning that monks additional to the fixed limit would be expelled. "A Chinese 'Work Team' arrived in the Monastery with the warning that if they increase the number of monks above the fixed limit, then all the monks would be expelled," it was alleged. 11(WJ) In Sera Monastery the list of registered monks has never been updated, and includes only about 100 names. 47(WJ)

It was alleged that in a named monastery in Toelung Dechen county the limit had been set at 60 monks. It was strictly prohibited for that number to be exceeded and monks who died or renounced their vocation could not be replaced. "Even when a monk has died or discontinued his monastic life, it is still not permitted for him to be replaced." It was pointed out that this means the number of monks and nuns in this area will in the long term diminish.

The authorities are said to have banned the admission of any new monks into the Monastery of Gathab [gathab] in Meldrogunkar county, according to one respondent. 11(WJ)

The *Tibet Daily* stated directly reportedly for the first time that the number of monks and nuns must be limited. "We must fix the number of monks and nuns in the monasteries," said the *Tibet Daily*, 25th November 1994.

Ban on Admission of Monks under 18 Years

A number of respondents complained that a ban was currently being enforced against monks under 18 years of age, and that parents of monks below this age were liable to extensive fines. "These days, in particular, they have issued an order expelling monks and nuns below the age of 18 from the monasteries and nunneries," according to one document. 14(WJ)

In Nyethang Ratoe Monastery in Chushur county about 30 monks are below 18 years of age and have been told "to return to their home places. The parents of monks below 18 were ordered to take back their boys from the monastery, and if the parents fail to advise their sons accordingly they are liable to pay a fine of 1,500 Chinese yuan [c. US \$180] for each boy." The warning was said to have been "given by the officials of Chushur county to the villagers of Nam, Jang and Nyethang." 12(WJ)

The Propaganda Circular of 25th November confirms these reports of a ban on monks under 18 years of age: "Some monasteries have broken the State regulations and have accepted teenagers under the age of 18 to join them." *Tibet Daily*, 25th November.

Restriction on Religious Teaching without Permission

It was further alleged in some submissions that permission has to be sought from the authorities for senior lamas to give religious teachings and other ceremonies. In one case a senior Lama, Kangyur Rinpoche, was not allowed to gather the monks together at Sera monastery to give religious teaching. "When the monks of Sera Monastery requested Lama Kangyur Rinpoche to bestow the reading transmission of Kangyur text, the Tibet Autonomous Region government totally refused to grant permission," said the source. 11(WJ)

In one case it was said that teachers in schools were not allowed to speak about religion in school lessons, while classes in Marxism, Leninism and Maoism had been increased. The Rapporteur was asked "to strongly urge the Chinese to give full freedom for monks to enter monasteries at their own choice without being obliged to apply for permission from the authorities".

Punishments for Monks and Nuns Accused of Political Dissent

It was alleged that monks and nuns who have been accused of dissident political opinions have been expelled from their religious institutions and denied access to other forms of education or livelihood. "Monks, nuns and office workers who have been accused of political contacts are [now] all deprived of educational opportunities. They are all unemployed and have no means to earn their living. The main reason for that is that these people have been expelled [from their

institutions], because they opposed the state," it was alleged. ^{11(WJ)} Respondents called on the Rapporteur to allow monks and nuns who had been expelled from their monastery or nunnery due to involvement in peaceful protests to be allowed to return. ^{12(WJ)}

It was suggested that punishments to dissuade monks from political activity were harsh and unfair, and were also imposed on relatives of the offender. At a meeting in Lhundrup County it was announced, with reference in particular to Ganden Choekor Monastery, that "if any monk in this monastery takes part in a demonstration, his parents will be fined 10,000 yuan." ^{61-4(WJ)}

Officials are said to have announced that a monastery will be closed if there is any dissident activity. Ngawang Thogme, the Party Secretary of Toelung Dechen is said to have alleged that "If the monks of the monastery side with the splittist movement, then the monastery shall be considered illegal and the monastery will be closed, and the monks will be sent back to their own homes." ^{61(WJ)} It is alleged in an unconfirmed report that in the first week of November at Michungri Nunnery near Lhasa the local police "ordered a number of nuns from this nunnery to leave for their respective homes. [...] No valid explanation of the reason for this expulsion order was given". ^{61(WJ)}

It was said that 15 nuns who had been expelled from Garu nunnery near Lhasa were "banned from engaging in any religious activities and handed over to their parents with a warning that they are prohibited to enter any nunnery or monastery". The parents were alleged to be held responsible for them, and were liable to be punished if the nuns "engage in any religious activities." ^{61(WJ)}

The Propaganda Department circular in the *Tibet Daily* of 25th November says that "they must learn to reform all those aspects of religion which are not suitable to the socialist society", indicating an intention by the authorities to impose further political control over the opinions of monks and nuns:

"We must teach Tibetan Buddhism about self-reform and teach them to adapt themselves to a socialist system. They must adapt themselves to the developments of Tibet and to the necessity of stability." *Tibet Daily*, 25th November. "Those few separatists who are making use of religion for their own political purposes must be exposed and punished according to the law."

One submission noted that monasteries belonging to the Gelugpa sect, associated with the Dalai Lama and the former Tibetan government, are targeted for additional controls and restrictions, such as political education. "The major Lhasa monasteries of Drepung and Sera, as well as Tashilhunpo in Shigatse, are subject to an extraordinary degree of surveillance and obligatory political education, such that genuine religious studies are virtually impossible." ^{19(WJ)}

Restrictions on the Lives and Movement of Monks and Nuns

Police posts are said to have been established in all the main monasteries and "the monks are always under

surveillance by agents inside and outside the monasteries." ^{47(WJ)} This appears to be confirmed by the TAR Public Security Regulations issued in September 1994, which are said to instruct police to "strengthen, in accordance with the law, the management of temples, monasteries, and other places of religious activities," according to one submission. ^{19(WJ)}

Movement of monks and nuns is said to be restricted on certain days. "The Chinese are also imposing a ban forbidding the monks and nuns visiting Lhasa on Holy Days," according to one source. ^{8(WJ)} One example said that during the visit of the Special Rapporteur the three main monasteries near Lhasa were sealed off and monks were not allowed by the lay authorities to travel to Lhasa.

Monks travelling from Sera Monastery to Lhasa, a distance of about 3 km, have to get permits to go to Lhasa or other places, according to some reports. They have to pass through "three or four checkpoints" to get to Lhasa and are liable to be beaten or threatened. ^{47(WJ)}

In Toelung Dechen it is alleged that at a recent meeting it was ordered that monks from other counties were to be expelled from the county. "If monks of the monastery are not from this county they should be instructed to return back to their homes. If they do not obey the instruction to leave they must be expelled from the Monastery." ^{61(WJ)}

Restrictions on Released Prisoners

A religious teacher and convicted political dissident named Yulu Dawa Tsering, and others who were released from prison in November 1994, are said to be under surveillance and to be denied equal rights, a reference to the Chinese system of imposing non-custodial sentences known as deprivation of political rights. ^{21(WJ)}

Interference in the Selection of Religious Leaders

It was alleged that the Chinese authorities were currently seeking to impose political control over the process of selecting a successor to the late Panchen Lama, an important Tibetan religious leader. "The Chinese have said that the Panchen Lama reincarnation will be recognised by the Tibet Autonomous Region authorities." This is said to be in contravention of religious tradition and to be opposed to the wishes of Tibetans, who want the Dalai Lama to be in charge of the selection process. ^{1(WJ), 12(WJ)}

The Propaganda Department of the Communist Party in its circular of 25th November stated that the selection process must be controlled by the civil authorities. "In recognising the reincarnations of the *Tulkus* [incarnate lamas] of Tibetan Buddhism, we must follow the relevant decisions of the State and implement them according to our region's reality and make them more practical." ^{51(WJ)}

Calls for China to Accede to International Instruments

The submissions call on the Rapporteur to urge the Chinese authorities to accede to the relevant

international instruments relating to religious freedom. 12(WJ) They also call on him to urge the Chinese authorities to cease protests and restrictive practices relating to their religions leader the Dalai Lama.

Interference with Attempts to Communicate with the Rapporteur

It is alleged that increased activity by the security forces and secrecy surrounding the visit of the Rapporteur to Lhasa was designed to prevent or deter Tibetans from communicating with the Rapporteur during his visit.

The three main monasteries around Lhasa were sealed off by police during the period of the visit so that monks and nuns could not go into Lhasa. "From the morning of 25th November 1994, policemen were placed on duty in the surroundings of Sera, Ganden and Drepung monasteries, and any monk or nuns were forbidden to go to Lhasa and were pulled down from the vehicles and sent back." 8(WJ)

Monks and nuns from other establishments who went to the Barkor pilgrimage path, which the delegation was due to visit, were removed from the path by force, according to eyewitnesses. In one case an English-speaking monk was confined to his room in the monastery during the time of the delegation's visit to his monastery.

"We Tibetans are without any opportunity to talk with you, because, as usual, Chinese troops are posted in military uniforms in all the places where you are going to visit," said one of the writers. 15(WJ)

One writer said that he knew of one person who had been able to approach the delegation but said that there had been intensive activity by security forces

surrounding the visit, making it impossible for others to contact the delegation.

"The visit was kept secret from the public and there were intensive security arrangements in Lhasa on the Friday. On Saturday afternoon at about 4pm the delegation visited the Jokhang Temple. There was tight security around the Jokhang Temple from about 11am that day. Security forces were visible all over the Barkor. In the afternoon, just before the visit, 2 monks and a nuns who were in the Barkor were removed from the area by the security forces". 40(WJ)

A resident in Lhasa who was asked by a number Tibetans to approach the Rapporteur on their behalf said that he was prevented by security arrangements from finding out the itinerary of the Rapporteur or where he was staying. "The delegation was surrounded by security agents in plain clothes, although this may not have been evident to the delegation themselves," he said. 66(WJ).

"The Delegation's schedule was not made public. We only discovered where the delegation were staying on the evening of Sunday 27th November after they had already left. They were not registered in the hotel, and staff and management there denied knowledge of their presence. They were sequestered in a separate wing of the hotel and we could not approach it without a high risk of being identified," said the person. 66(WJ)

There were low-altitude flights by military helicopters over Central Lhasa on the mornings of 26th and 27th November. Helicopter flights over Lhasa are extremely rare and these were described as intimidatory in effect. They were said to have been intended as warnings to Tibetans to deter them from staging incidents during the visit.

Selections from Submissions from Tibet to the UN Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance.

Translations by Tibet Information Network, London, 22 December, 1994

The UN Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance visited Lhasa from 25-27th November. A number of Tibetans attempted to contact him but were prevented or deterred from doing so by security surrounding the delegation. As a result 25 documents written in Tibet were sent by separate channels for submission to the Rapporteur.

These 25 documents were written by Tibetans living in or near Lhasa for the UN Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance on or shortly before 27th November 1994. Two of the documents, 61-4(WJ) and 66(WJ), were written two weeks later, and describe restrictions imposed on communications with the Rapporteur during his visit.

This compilation includes translated extracts from the written submissions.

List of submissions:

Handwritten submissions from various monasteries and individual Tibetans:

- 1-15(WJ) Statements by Tibetans concerning the religious situation.
- 47(WJ) Statement by monastery concerning the religious situation.
- 61-4(WJ) 3 items by one writer on the religious situation.

Handwritten submissions from individuals concerning restrictions on communications with the Rapporteur:

- 15, 40(WJ) Statement concerning difficulties in contacting the delegation.
- 66(WJ) Statement concerning difficulties in contacting the delegation.

Official Chinese Government Documents submitted with comments by Tibetans:

- 28(WJ) Note to Rapporteur proposing submission of attached printed documents, with comments.
- 29(WJ) Printed book of propaganda circulars following the 3rd Forum on Tibet.

- 51(WJ) Newspaper printing extract from 29(WJ) (printed book of propaganda circulars following the 3rd Forum on Tibet [attached]).

Statement by a foreign resident in Lhasa:

- 19(WJ) Briefing paper by informed foreign resident (attached).

Selections from Handwritten Submissions from Various Monasteries And Individual Tibetans

Doc 12(WJ)

Heartily greeting and welcoming the United Nations visitors in Tibet,

1. Requesting them to carry out a strong and insistent examination of human rights and religious freedom in Tibet in order to expose the cunning tactics of China, and exhorting them to make continuous investigations:

2. So-called Religious Freedom is just an external show and in reality it is a mere display. More than 100 people are banned from practicing religious traditions without permission from the Chinese leaders. Anyone who does not speak in support of Chinese policy is declared to be [literally, put in the hat of] a counter-revolutionary.

3. Nowadays, so-called religious freedom is just a name; in reality no such freedom exists. This can be seen from the fact that in Nyethang Ratoe Monastery, for example, there were about 500 monks before 1959. At present there are only 81 monks. Out of that number, about 30 monks who are below 18 years of age are not allowed to live in the monastery. It is said that they must return back to their [home] districts. The parents of monks below 18 were ordered to take back their boys from the monastery, and if the parents fail to advise their sons accordingly they are liable to pay a fine of 1,500 Chinese yuan [c. US \$180] for each boy. That warning was given in a threatening manner by the officials of Chushur county to the villagers of Nam, Jang and Nyethang.

4. [Their objective is] to completely destroy religious traditions, cultural heritage and customs in every region of Tibet. They are doing that [by three methods:] explicitly, indirectly and through influence.

Therefore the United Nations is earnestly requested to carry out strong and insistent investigation:

5. To urge the Chinese government to decide upon and to agree to the established principles and codes of the United Nations regarding respect for religious traditions, cultural heritage, ethnic customs, and so forth;

6. To strongly urge the Chinese government to release at an early date all monks and nuns

imprisoned for involvement in peaceful protests. In addition they must be allowed to go back to their monastery or nunnery if they have been expelled from there due to involvement in peaceful protests;

7. To strongly urge the Chinese to give full freedom for monks to enter monasteries at their own choice without being obliged to apply for permission from the authorities;

8. To stop the Chinese protesting about the Dalai Lama who, as the root of Dharma [Religious Teaching], and the Guru [Teacher] of Buddhism, is the temporal and spiritual leader of Tibet;

9. To strongly urge the Chinese that the reincarnation of the late Panchen Lama, who was the leader of the Tibetans inside Tibet, should be recognised according to religious tradition and customs, which must be decided by the Dalai Lama.

From the monastic community of [name of monastery withheld].
Written on 27th November 1994

Postscript: In addition the Chinese proclaimed an order banning photographs of the Dalai Lama and altars in the house of officials who are in the service of the Chinese government. In particular those who are members of the Communist Party are not permitted to do that. Anyone is found guilty of that will be expelled from the party and must face severe punishment. In this way they were threatened.

Doc. 1(WJ)

China's current so-called religious freedom in Tibet is just an external show and in reality an individual has no rights at all. To give an example which illustrates this, we could look at Sera monastery, where there were more than 10,000 monks at the time of the Old Society [before 1959]. In those times no matter how many boys wanted to enter the monastery as novice monks, they were all allowed to do so immediately whenever they wished. In particular, they were allowed straightaway to receive religious teachings, religious initiations and other transmissions. They were also free to assemble and so on.

For example, when the monks of Sera Monastery requested Lama Kangyur Rinpoche to bestow the reading transmission of Kangyur text, the Tibet

Autonomous Region government totally refused to grant permission.

Now there are only just about 200 monks in Sera Monastery who have registration permits. The Monastery has been ordered not to exceed the number of monks from the current fixed limit [about 200]. Currently there are about 500 monks in Sera Monastery, but since they were restricted in August 1994 to the fixed number [of about 200] by the Chinese, a Chinese 'Work Team' arrived in the Monastery with the warning that if they increase the number of monks above the fixed limit, then all the monks would be expelled. Therefore, the monks are anxiously waiting with apprehension whether they shall be expelled today, tomorrow or the day after.

Nowadays, we have to try and buy back the statues, scriptures and reliquaries [stupas], all of which had been taken away from the monasteries of Tibet by force and stored before the Cultural Revolution. Even if we do go to buy them the officials refuse to sell them unless they are also given gifts and bribes.

Now the situation is such that monks and nuns, on the one hand, and the Chinese Communists, on the other hand, are like fire and hair together [i.e., incompatible]. If they are forced to live together it is not feasible them to co-exist in harmony. In particular the ban on the sale of photos of Tenzin Gyatso, who is for the Tibetan people the heart-jewel and the refuge of this life and of the next lives. The Chinese are also issuing orders banning the use of altars for worship.

Tibetans have expressed their wish that the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama must be recognised by the Dalai Lama, and they have said that if the recognition is carried out by someone else they will never accept it. The Chinese have said that the Panchen Lama reincarnation will be recognised by the Tibet Autonomous Region authorities. We have made it clear that this will never be acceptable to the Tibetan people.

Recently the 18th township of Tsethang county in Lhokha, is believed to have announced that people are not allowed to put photos of the Dalai Lama on their altar. There are also restrictions imposed on listening to the Voice of America news reports. In addition it was announced that all the existing photos of the Dalai Lama have been confiscated in Lhasa. It was announced that if anyone does any of these forbidden actions they will be severely punished.

Some monks who are working as chaplains responsible for security at the Potala Palace have been instructed that they can only wear their monastic robes for a single day in a year, namely the first day of New Year. In the old system women were not allowed to dwell in the Potala, but now monks and women live together.

As mentioned above, although the Chinese Communist claim to have provided religious freedom in Tibet, this is not the reality, not only around the

region of Lhasa, but also in the area of Kham [eastern Tibet], which is even worse.

The greatest hope of the Tibetan people is for the body responsible for religious affairs in the United Nation to take charge of Potala Palace, and specially that it should appeal for an early return of the Dalai Lama, the Wish-fulfilling jewel, to the capital.

Presented by the Three Organisations of Tibet.

Doc. 2(WJ)

[...] In this area the rebuilding of monasteries has been restricted and there has been a ban on the admission of new monks and nuns. There is therefore a danger of monks and nuns coming eventually to a complete end. This has actually happened in the district of Nedong county, Lhokha prefecture.

The Chinese have claimed that the Venerable Yulo Dawa Tsering and four other people have been released from prison, but this is an attempt to deceive the international community and the Tibetan people. In fact these people are under surveillance by the Chinese and have not been granted equal rights to normal citizens [i.e., they are serving non-custodial sentences known as "deprivation of political rights"].

Here in Lhasa the Chinese have imposed an order to take down all the photographs of the Dalai Lama. In one case some Tibetans did not obey the order and some police grabbed them by the chest and threatened them very strongly. Even then the Tibetans would not take down the photograph and the police took them down themselves and confiscated the photographs.

Doc. 3(WJ)

The following pronouncement is to be presented [to the UN Rapporteur] on behalf of the Tibetans:

The Chinese are proclaiming in the government work units that it is prohibited to keep the photograph of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Temporal and Spiritual King of Tibet, and that it is forbidden to carry out religious practices.

The reason for this ban is that the Chinese consider religious activity as a form of fanaticism; therefore they are denying us our human rights. In fact, that is not the case. Tibetans are protesting against the harsh and intolerable repression of the Chinese Communists. It is the nature of humanity to struggle to free oneself from the experience of suffering.

The reason for the Red Chinese imposing restriction on keeping the photograph of His Holiness is because His Holiness has been expanding his activities and unlimited dedication to the cause of helping Tibetans who have suffered or are continuing to suffer in Tibet, and because he is aware of the eradication of Tibet's exceptional cultural wealth. The atheist Chinese have no response to such great deeds and they are

embarrassed and compelled to speak like an eight year old child.

Written By the Organisation of the True Movement.

Doc. 4(WJ)

To the delegation from the United Nations:

[...] [In July] this year the government in Beijing held the Third Party Forum on Tibet. In that meeting they banned the Tibetan members of the Communist Party and all workers in offices and factories who are Government employees from practising religion. They announced that members of the general public can only practice religion if they also cherish the State and not by organising splittist movements through religious means. In particular, no one from the highest level down to market traders and nomads should even keep a photograph of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the temporal and spiritual leaders of Tibetans.

For instance, in the regions of Nagchu, Chamdo and Markham, even using an altar for religious worship is banned. So the Chinese are implementing that ban.

No more new monks and nuns were allowed into the monasteries and they ordered the expulsion of monks who are not in the monastery without official permission and whose presence means that the numbers exceed the permitted limit. These varied and unstable policies, which can change by night or by day, are a provocation for the Tibetans. These are clear signs that in reality there is no policy of religious freedom. [...]

From the Friendship Organisation in the Land of Snow,
Written on 27th November 1994

Doc. 5(WJ)

This year in the seventh month the Chinese communists held a special meeting [...]. They issued a severely repressive document which is known as Document No.8. The principle content of that document was to place Tibet's religious traditions under tight scrutiny and to restrict any expansion or development of the monasteries. Those monasteries which have exceeded the fixed number of monks are to be checked and must immediately expel some of the monks and send them back to their home districts. Staff in government offices should not place the photograph of the Dalai Lama in their houses and they are banned from setting up a shrine for the purpose of prayer or worship. They are forbidden from engaging in any form of activity which involves religious symbols. Their children who have been sent to India must immediately be brought back to Tibet, and they shouldn't be appointed to any significant job. At the end it even said that they shouldn't be offered a job at all. [...]

At that meeting there were some hidden points or objectives which were kept secret and were not written in the Document itself. There are three of these points or guidelines for special attention.

1. An investigation should be carried out amongst current government officials to find out who has

connections with the Dalai Lama and to remove them from their positions.

Chinese Press Confirms the Existence of "Document No. 8", Hints at Campaign against Dalai Lama

Source: Tibet TV, Lhasa, in Standard Chinese 1200 gmt, 20th September 1994; BBC SWB 11th October 1994 FE/2124 G/10

In the morning of 20th September, the Tibet Autonomous Regional Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [TAR CCPCC] invited some of its Standing Committee members and some members stationed at the TAR CCPCC to relay the guidelines of the central authorities' Document No 8 and the sixth enlarged plenary session of the fourth Tibet autonomous regional party committee. [...]

The meeting relayed the central authorities' Document No 8 and the important speeches delivered by Tibet leaders Chen Kuiyuan, Raidi and Gyaincain Norbu at the sixth enlarged plenary session of the fourth TAR Party Committee.

Basang, deputy secretary of the TAR Party Committee and vice chairman of the TAR CCPCC, said at the meeting: The Third Forum on Work in Tibet studied the work from a strategic high plane of the overall situation, further defined the guidelines for successfully conducting the Tibet work and various measures for accelerating economic development and maintaining social stability.

Basang stressed: During the Third Forum on Work in Tibet, the central authorities reaffirmed their policy towards the Dalai clique. The difference between us and the Dalai is not a question of religious belief or autonomy, but one of maintaining the unification of the motherland and opposing splittism. So long as he gives up his advocacy for Tibet independence and stops trying to split the motherland, he is welcome to return home at any time.

Basang called on everyone to implement conscientiously the guidelines of the central authorities' third forum on work in Tibet and the sixth enlarged plenary session of the fourth TAPCC and to take part actively in political and government affairs, so as to make new contributions to Tibet's development and stability.

2. To immediately start investigating connections with Ngapo Ngawang Jigme and to sever those relations.

3. To stop immediately the increasing growth of Tibetan religious, which is growing too fast.

[...] A number of Tibetans have been told that, since they are highly developed persons [ie., they do not believe in religion], they should watch for any signs of religious activity amongst other Tibetans and should inform the higher authorities.

This is written and sent by [Name Withheld], a Tibetan official of the Chinese Government.

Written On 26th November 1994.

Doc. 6(WJ)

A Brief Summary of Developments in Taktse County.

In the August of this year, on the final evening of The Plenary Session of the People's Congress of the country, all the members who were not themselves representatives were [also] summoned to a meeting. At that meeting they criticised His Holiness the Dalai Lama and even banned the possession of photographs of the Dalai Lama, and banned having an altar for the purpose of prayer or worship. Whoever keeps such a photograph and makes an altar will be guilty of an offence.

If a monk or nun commits an offence of this kind, and if he or she is not registered in this county, he or she should be instructed to return to their home places. If they do not return they must be expelled by force.

The person who spoke principally in the meeting was Mr. Chime Dorje, the Party Secretary of Taktse County. Although he spoke such things, most of us Tibetans fearlessly abstained from criticising His Holiness.

Sent from [name withheld] Monastery, Taktse County.

Written 1994.

Doc. 7(WJ)

A Brief News Report from [name withheld] Monastery, Taktse County.

The head of the county, Party Secretary Ngawang Thogme and his comrade Powu Ngawang Rinchen made the following points in the assembly of monks:

If the monks of the monastery side with the splittist movement, then the monastery shall be considered illegal and the monastery will be closed, and the monks will be sent back to their own homes.

They imposed a fixed number of 60 monks allowed in the Monastery. It was strictly prohibited for that number to be exceeded. Even when a monk has died or discontinued his monastic life, it is still not permitted for him to be replaced.

If monks of the monastery are not from this county they should be instructed to return back to their homes. If they do not obey the instruction to leave they must be expelled from the Monastery.

The aim of these restrictions is to completely destroy the Monastery in future.

Doc. 8(WJ)

To the leaders of the United Nations:

Although the Chinese claim to have given Religious Freedom in Tibet, in reality we do not have any religious freedom. This can be seen from that fact that they have proclaimed an order banning the display of the photograph of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who is our backbone, in the area around the pilgrimage circuit in the Barkor, Lhasa. They ordered the confiscation of all existing photographs of the Dalai Lama around the 9th or 10th day of the eighth month [14-15th September] 1994.

Gradually officials have also been ordered not to have in their possession photographs of the Dalai Lama and not to have statues on their altars. They were warned of severe consequences, such as have their salaries cut and being sacked from their positions. This warning was issued repeatedly.

They said any member of the Communist Party who breached this warning would definitely be expelled from the Party and could face unlimited punishment.

For instance, at Garu Nunnery near Lhasa 15 nuns were expelled. They were also banned from engaging in any religious activities and handed over to their parents with a warning that they are prohibited to enter any nunnery or monastery. If they engage in any religious activities their parents will be imprisoned.

The Chinese are also imposing a ban forbidding the monks and nuns of monasteries and nunneries visiting Lhasa on Holy Days. From the morning of 25th November 1994, policemen were placed on duty in the surroundings of Sera, Ganden and Drepung monasteries, and any monk or nuns were forbidden to go to Lhasa and were pulled down from the vehicles and sent back.

As mentioned before, there is no religious freedom in Tibet. The Chinese just say such things. The greatest aspiration of the Tibetans is to transform Tibet into an international Zone of Peace, and we appeal to you to help accomplish that.

From all the nuns of Tibet.

Doc. 9(WJ)

In Tibet, the Chinese speak of religious freedom, but in reality the Tibetans do not have religious freedom at all. On 11th October 1994 an announcement was made in the office of the Tibet Autonomous Region Culture Affairs Department [Bod nang rik khung thing] that possession of photographs of the Dalai Lama is restricted, and that all such photographs must be registered.

In the schools, if a teacher speaks of something relating to religion during a school lesson, he or she must be criticised and investigated. It is also forbidden to speak about things in relation to Tibetan history.

Now, in Tibet, the school curriculum is being reorganised and lessons about the history of Marxism, Lenin and Maoism is being added. [...]

Religion in Tibet, with all the playing of cymbals and beating of drums and assembling for prayers, is used as an external display or attraction, like a kind of play. In fact if you carry out serious studies, then they accuse you, using various pretexts, and you can be put in prison for years and lose your means of livelihood in the community.

At present some monks and nuns are in a more destitute condition than the beggars. Before 1959, all people, male and female, high and low, were free to go to the monasteries and visit temples.

Nowadays, without money one is not allowed to visit the Potala, Norbulingka and others. One has to pay a minimum of one yuan to visit the holy temples.

Source: Tibet People's Broadcasting Station, Lhasa, in Standard Chinese, 28th November 1994, (BBC SWB 5th December 1994, FE/2170)

Secretary Chen inspected six counties in Qamdo prefecture [...] to carry out investigations and studies, as well as visiting public security departments, armed police, troops stationed in Qamdo and regional religious figures. He stressed:

It is necessary to correctly identify the fundamental interests and religious beliefs of peasants and herdsmen. The fundamental interests of the Tibetan people are increasing development and maintaining stability. As communists are representatives of Tibetan people's fundamental interests, the starting point and the end-result of all our work is to make the Tibetan people prosperous and help them thrive as soon as possible, so that they will live and work in peace and contentment and enjoy a civilized and happy life.

Some people do not really understand the true essence of Buddhism, pay no attention to happiness in real life, and pursue the so-called happiness of the next life, which does not exist at all. While people continue not to clearly see their own fundamental interests, blind religious belief is unavoidable. Despite this fact, however, we should never give up our education and guidance to the people and should not allow a laissez-faire attitude towards religions under the pretext that people are free to profess a religion. Communists are not allowed to have any religious belief, much less participation in religious activities by leading cadres at and above county level under any pretexts. Communists should intensify the work of educating and guiding the people, so that they will become prosperous as soon as possible. People in richer areas usually do not take a great interest in religions, whereas the poorer people are, the stronger their enthusiasm for religions. Party and government leaders at all levels should pay attention and attach importance to this point.

Doc. 11(WJ)

The Chinese banned the admission of any new monks into the Monastery of Gathab [rga-thab] in Meldrogunkar county. Recently the Communist Chinese did not allow the enthronement ceremony of a Lama to take place. They even went to arrest the Lama, but they were not able to carry out the arrest.

[...] Recently, Guo Jinlong, the [Executive Deputy] Party Secretary of Tibet Autonomous Region, along with other officials, announced that having the photo of the Dalai Lama and having any religious objects such as statues, scriptures and reliquaries [Sanskrit: stupa] and so forth, is restricted. This announcement was made in all the offices, township governments, [sub]-districts and even in all the agricultural sections.

The heads of the [government] offices, and the staff of the township government offices and the agricultural sections were warned not to engage in any kind of religious activities. If anyone does go against this restriction order, he or she will be expelled from the office or from the township government.

Tibetans in Tibet have no human rights. Monks, nuns and office workers who have been accused of political contacts are [now] all deprived of educational opportunities. They are all unemployed and have no means to earn their living. The main reason for that is that these people have been expelled [from their institutions], because they opposed the state. In this way these people are expelled from every type of work and educational opportunity.

[...] All the visitors must inspect all of Lhasa in every direction. These days there are more street beggars in Tibet than before. But the Chinese do not let any single beggar into the area of the Barkhor, because they say that if we allow beggars in the Barkhor the foreign visitors will see them and that is a disgrace for the country. All the beggars are driven away from Lhasa to the corners of Lhasa. Therefore, all visitors should look carefully in the corner of the city.

Doc. 10(WJ)

The Chinese have distributed notices to all the villages within Toelung Dechen county in Tibet [...] warning that no Tibetan should wear or carry photos of the Dalai Lama on them. Tibetans are also banned from showing respect [e.g., bowing and prostrating] and performing circumambulations. All people working in government offices are banned from carrying out religious activities. The Head of any government office of which a member carries out religious practices will be expelled from the office, and so will others in that office.

Doc. 13(WJ)

To the Members of the Investigating Commission of the United Nations:

We wish to submit a report on some aspects of the current situation.

1. His Holiness the Dalai Lama is widely recognised as one of the indisputable heads of the Buddhist religion. The Chinese authorities have banned the photograph of the Dalai Lama in offices and have confiscated photos displayed in the market area. They have also banned the admission of new monks and nuns into monasteries and nunneries. Those monks and nuns living in the monasteries and nunneries without the permission of the Chinese authorities all have to be expelled. Because of that, all the people are suffering from terror and anxiety, expecting a second Cultural Revolution.

[...] We also wish to appeal for your help to regain freedom [...] and, for the sake of all the beings of the world, for your strong support for the thoughts and great activities of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who is our heart-jewel and the back-bone of our welfare.

*Submitted by the True-movement Organisation
of the Six Million Tibetans.
Written on 25th November 1994*

Doc. 14(WJ)

An Appeal Submitted under Fear and Terror

A just appeal concerning the non-existence of freedom for the Tibetan people. Also a brief report on some news on the policies of the Communist Chinese towards religion [...].

Religion is considered by Communist China as a major enemy. Yet Communist China regularly says to the people of the world and to the international community, in order to deceive them, that Tibetan people have religious freedom.

But in reality they completely destroyed nearly a thousand monasteries. At the same time as using pleasant terms like "the restoration of ancient wealth", or "the elimination of the 'Four Olds'" and the so-called 'Cultural Revolution', they completely eradicated much of the precious culture and heritage of Tibetan history. They took away precious jewels, diamonds and much other wealth from the monasteries into China. Their intention was to eradicate the Tibetan people's religious traditions and customs.

Later Communist China told the nations of the world that former leaders were to be blamed for those actions. In this way they attempted to avoid responsibility for the abhorrent policies and cruel methods that had been used earlier. From the year 1987 many monks from several monasteries were killed and imprisoned. These days, in particular, they have issued an order expelling monks and nuns below the age of 18 from the monasteries and

nunneries. They have also issued an order banning people from keeping or possessing the photo of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who is the highest Lama for the Tibetans and to whom all Tibetans are deeply devoted. People working in the offices of the Communist authorities have also been warned not to carry out any religious practice or to keep a shrine for worshipping. These actions are a second Cultural Revolution and a second introduction of a new system by destroying the old system only for the Tibetans.

Nowadays, in a few monasteries - in the Lhasa Tsuglakhang [the Jokhang Temple], Sera Monastery, Drepung Monastery and so forth - some monks and nuns are carrying out religious practice and are a token to mislead world leaders and the people of the world. In reality, there is no religious freedom left in Tibet.

Doc. 15(WJ)

The Words and Aspirations of a Tibetan Youth

I heard that some honest people have come to Tibet from free countries in the West. But we Tibetans are without any opportunity to talk with you, because, as usual, Chinese troops are posted in military uniforms in all the places where you are going to visit [...].

In schools, mainly Chinese language is taught, since in all important official business only Chinese language is used. Tibetan youths are forgetting the Tibetan language and writing.

From September 1994 the Chinese started to enforce stronger restrictions in all the monasteries of Tibet and imposed a restriction order, banning the admission of new monks. Countless monks have been expelled from monasteries.

We are hoping and waiting for freedom and happiness. Please protect us from the dangers.

Doc. 47(WJ)

Letter from [name withheld] monastery to the delegation of the United Nations.

China's religious policy is mere lip-service, and religious people are made to put on a show.

For instance, Sera monastery had more than nine thousand monks in 1959 before the Chinese occupation of Tibet; there were numerous learned masters of Sutra, Tantra and other branches of Tibetan religious studies whose works about Tibet and Tibetan people have contributed to the prestige of Tibetan culture all over the world. The monastery was a centre for the development of Tibetan studies. Now, in order to allow the authorities to claim that they support religious freedom, 500 monks are allowed admission to the monastery. But it is just a show: there is no real opportunity to study and preserve the tradition of the old masters, and development of religion is not allowed.

Excerpts from a Tibet Daily article entitled "Sparkling in all the subtlety - on Xigaze [Shigatse] prefectural party committee secretary Sangzhu's advanced deeds in promoting unity among nationalities"

Source. Xizang Ribao, Lhasa, in Chinese, 24 November 1995, SWB 14 January 1995, FE/2201 G/15

For years, Comrade Sangzhu has been analysing and pondering the issue of how resolutely and firmly to carry out the anti-splitlist struggle to ensure Xigaze's long-term peace and stability.

In 1992, when Comrade Sangzhu headed a working group to conduct socialist ideological education at the Tashilunpo Temple, he boldly and straightforwardly proclaimed: "Monks at large should recognize historical facts, conscientiously safeguard the motherland's unification, resolutely oppose splitlist and regression, and draw a clear line of demarcation between their emotional attachment to the Dalai lama's religious belief and their fundamental political opposition to him in firmly exposing the Dalai clique's evil work of betraying the nation, splitting the motherland and carrying out activities for Tibet's independence." [...]

Owing to Comrade Sangzhu's painstaking planning and penetrating and meticulous work, socialist education at the temple was a complete success.

[...] He encourages the vast number of non-party figures to use actual deeds to oppose splitlist and regression in an effort to safeguard political stability and unity; and to cooperate with the party and the government through providing political consultations and involving themselves in government affairs.

Third, he fully and correctly follows through with the party's religious policy and tightens the control over lamaseries and religious affairs according to the law. He pays special attention to winning the support of religious figures of the upper hierarchy and makes sure they play a proper role in managing temples, maintaining stability there and establishing ties with the vast number of monks and nuns and religious believers.

Fourth, he considers key elements in minority affairs to be expediting economic and cultural development, emancipating the social productive forces, and promoting economic prosperity and social progress. Fifth, he follows through with all policies governing united front affairs, minority affairs and religious affairs.

Comrade Sangzhu fully understands the problems.

Out of these 500 monks, more than 100 are monks from pre-1959 days; the remaining 400 are new. But only about 100 are listed in the list of those who are registered as having residence permits [them-thoj], and who are therefore eligible to benefit from local facilities. This list of registered monks has never been renewed. The Chinese government has never spent a single 'karma' [equivalent to a penny]

for the religious studies of these monks and the monastery doesn't even have the status of a lower [primary] school.

The monks are regarded as the main anti-social elements, and check points have been established in all the big monasteries and the monks are always under surveillance by [security] agents spread inside and outside the monasteries. They have to get permits to go to Lhasa, to their home places or to any other place. Without permits it is very difficult to visit any place and even more difficult to come back to the monastery as they have to go through three or four check points to do so. Those without permits are regarded as vagabonds and are arrested, beaten and threatened.

In conclusion, the Chinese have never cared about or supported the development of religion.

Doc. 61-4(WJ)

[...] In the August 1st Military Farm in Lhasa, Tibetan [government] employees have been forced to take down altars - they have actually been ordered to get rid of them. Then they were made to take down prayer flags from the roof tops. Incense from the incense-burning hearths has also had to be removed. An inspection team from the office inspected the homes of all Tibetan employees. They directed that altars should be handed over to relatives living in villages who do not work for the Government, and they said that failing to do so would bring consequences.[...]

I believe that in the first week of November at Michungri Nunnery, on the hill to the west of Lhasa, the local police station at Nyangra [or Nyara] ordered a number of nuns from this nunnery to leave for their respective homes. I have not been able to confirm this, but I heard that the nuns were called to the police station and forced to leave the nunnery. No valid explanation of the reason for this expulsion order was given. At present most of the nuns are in Lhasa where they are homeless.

In Nagchu prefecture a strict order was issued prohibiting keeping photographs of the Dalai Lama both on altars and on the person. In November 1994 nomads were forced to publicly burn, tear up or otherwise get rid of photographs of the Dalai Lama. This exercise took place throughout this prefecture, irrespective of whether an individual was a member of the Communist Party or not. I have confirmed this report. [...]

The monastery of Ganden Choekor in Phenpo district had about 40 monks in the 1980's. This number was gradually increased to about 200 monks. This was done with the permission of Lhundrup county authorities, and at that time the monastery was so confident that it planned to recommence the practice of performing the "cham" [religious dance festival].

Now the monastery has been ordered to reduce the number of monks to around 40. Parents have been ordered to withdraw all monks below 18 years of

age and send them to school. Those who are sons of employees of the county authorities must withdraw them from the monastery and send them to schools. Parents who do not follow this order have been told that the father will be fined 1,000 yuan per child and the mother 500 yuan per child. Further, their jobs will be terminated and their residence permits and ration cards will be confiscated.

At the time of the meeting in Lhundrup county (in November) the authorities announced that it is intended to convert this monastery into a patriotic religious administration department. The representative of the monastery at the meeting replied that the monastery did not want this to happen.

The final order given at this meeting was that if any monk in this monastery takes part in a demonstration his parents will be fined 10,000 yuan. It was also announced that those monks who could not go to school will be provided with a job - but in fact parents want their sons to be in the monastery and do not want them to have jobs. Now parents are very worried about their sons being in the monastery.

These are my views on this. At first religious activities in Tibet were promoted by the Chinese government to show that they cared about the public's feelings. Now this policy is being reversed because the authorities believe that religious practice shapes and revitalises Tibetan culture. The Chinese hate to see the reshaping of Tibetan culture. The Chinese now realise that the monasteries are the back-bone of Tibetan culture. In addition Tibetan history is written in the religious scriptures and the Chinese are finding it hard to separate the two. They believe that the fewer monks there are the better it is for them. This is based on a misunderstanding. If the Chinese wish to colonise Tibet completely they will have to close down religious institutions - but this is impossible. Also the Chinese are exploiting the vulnerable position of the public. Government employees are dependent on keeping their jobs and can therefore be forced to submit to orders. [...] The Chinese are aware that no family can afford to pay a 10,000 yuan penalty for their sons. But because the measures taken by the security forces have failed to contain the monks and to stop demonstrations, so their families are being made responsible for them.

15 December 1994

Documents Relating to Restrictions on Communications with the Rapporteur

Doc. 40(WJ)

[Concerning the Visit of] The UN Religious Affairs Delegation to Tibet

The visit was kept secret from the public and there were intensive security arrangements in Lhasa on the Friday. On Saturday afternoon at about 4pm the delegation visited the Jokhang Temple.

There was tight security around the Jokhang Temple from about 11am that day. Security forces were visible all over the Barkor. In the afternoon, just before the visit, two monks and one nun who had assembled in the Barkor were removed from the area by security forces. [...] As usual, the visit was systematically arranged.

This is my comment on these developments: it is noteworthy that monks and nuns have been singled out by the security forces as the most likely cause of demonstrations. In addition during such visits released political prisoners who live in and around Lhasa are put under tight control.

In my opinion the UN will not be able to learn anything of the truth if they base their judgement only on what the Chinese authorities show them.

27th November 1994

Doc. 48a(WJ):

On 26th November 1994 the delegation of the United Nations Human Rights Organisation came to visit the Tsuglakhang [the Jokhang] in Lhasa. But, together with them came nine people from the Public Security department, without their uniforms.

After they came, the monk Turin [i.e., Chinese: zhuren, the monk appointed as leader], who is in charge of the Tsuglakhang and a lay Turin gave a strong order that the monks of Tsuglakhang should not come out of their rooms. And when the visitors meet monks, they should not speak of things which are not good.

Usually a person is on duty specially to provide an introduction to the Temple and to give information to foreign tourists. But during the visit of this delegation that person was not allowed to say even a word.

Later on the delegation made their way around the Barkor in Lhasa and some people from the Public Security Department went with them, without being dressed in their uniforms. Many of the people from the Department went and made a circuit in the anti-clockwise direction, and ordered all Tibetans not to speak with the visitors. Therefore, although the Tibetans in the depths of their hearts have something to say, out of fear they were not able to speak.

Doc. 15(WJ)

The Words and Aspirations of a Tibetan Youth

I heard that some honest people have come to Tibet from free countries in the West. But we Tibetans are without any opportunity to talk with you, because, as usual, Chinese troops are posted in military uniforms in all the places where you are going to visit [...].

Doc. 66(WJ) From a Western Tourist in Lhasa

[...] Security and surveillance were extremely tight for the duration of the visit, and the delegation's

schedule was not made public. [...] I saw in the Barkor on the morning of 25th November a large number of police on duty, showing an increased presence of security personnel. The delegation arrived on that same day, 25th November, and later we found out that they visited the Barkor and that area. We didn't know when the delegation was visiting each place, but anyway we would not have dared to come up to them in the street.

On both days, 26th and 27th November, at about 11 or 12 o'clock midday, helicopters flew low over the Barkor; they were military as far as one could see. This was very unusual, and I understood that Tibetans regarded these flights as intimidatory. There were lots of policemen in public places, but this was partly because it was Lama Duchen, a major Buddhist festival, so more police would have been on duty anyway, to deal with the extra pilgrims. It was very clever of the authorities to time the UN visit with the festival, because it gave a good impression of religious activity. People who saw the delegation described them as surrounded by plainclothes police, although this might not have been apparent to the delegation themselves.

*(name and address supplied)
21 December, 1994*

Official Government Documents Submitted by Tibetans for the Attention of the Rapporteur

Two people in Lhasa asked for two official Chinese Government documents to be submitted to the Rapporteur as evidence of increasing religious restrictions. The two documents were similar: both contained extracts from the decisions of a National Forum held in Beijing the previous July. One (ref: 29(WJ)) was a booklet called "The Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era" which gave an official commentary on the decisions made at the National Forum in July 1994. The other (ref: 51(WJ)) was a long newspaper article published in the Tibetan language version of the 25th November 1994 edition of the *Tibet Daily*, the official organ of the Communist Party in Tibet and the main regional paper. The *Tibet Daily* article was an extract from the section of the "Golden Bridge" booklet which dealt with religion.

The respondents marked certain passages for the attention of the Rapporteur.

Doc. 29(WJ)-pt

29(WJ) is a printed book issued by the Chinese Government. The title is *Dus rabs gсар par skyod pa'i gсар zam* - "The Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era". It is a Communist Party circular or directive translated into Tibetan from the Chinese. The directive was issued by the Propaganda Committee of the TAR Communist Party to elucidate issues arising from the Third National Forum on Work in Tibet (July 1994). It was written on 20th September 1994 and published in Tibet by the Tibetan People's Publishing House on 1st October 1994 (Chinese National Day). The circular is divided into 14 sections, of which the 12th deals with nationality and religious policy.

The book consists of 96 pages plus a cover, a title page and 2 colophons in Chinese and Tibetan respectively. The cover is yellow paper, with titles printed in red. There is no contents page, and there are no chapter divisions. Note that sections 12 and 13 were published in the *Tibet Daily*, with small variations, on 25th November 1994 (see 51(WJ)).

The following passages, all from section 12 of the circular, were highlighted by the respondent for the particular attention of the Rapporteur:

The Party has identified the following problems concerning religious activity in the Tibet Autonomous Region:

"There are a number of monasteries which have been opened without permission from the authorities, and there is too much religious activity" (page 74).

"Some monasteries have broken the State regulations and have accepted teenagers under the age of 18 to join them" (page 74-75).

"Steps should be taken to ensure that there is no lack of clarity regarding duties and rights as a result of conflicting religious loyalties" (page 76).

"The people, and monks and nuns in particular, should clearly decide to separate themselves politically from the Dalai Group" (page 79).

དུས་རབས་གསར་བར་སྐྱོད་པའི་གསེར་ཐུང་།

— ཇོ་ལམ་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་བཅུགས་མཁའ་ཚལ་ལྟུང་།
ཐིང་ལེ་གཞུང་ལུ་དཀྱིངས་པའི་ཆ་སྒྲིག་ཁྲུང་།
འཕྲིམ་བཤུད་ཀྱི་དཔྱད་གཞི།

ཇོ་ལམ་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་བཅུགས་མཁའ་ཚལ་ལྟུང་།

TIN Doc 29(WJ) Frontispiece of *The Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era*

"Rules and regulations should be formulated to bring religious affairs under these regulations, and [implementation] documents should be drawn up to make religious affairs subject to these regulations" (page 80).

"Religious tenets and practices which do not comply with a socialist society should be changed" (page 81).

Ref 28(WJ)

This document is a note asking for the attached printed document (29(WJ)) to be submitted to the Special Rapporteur

as evidence of current restrictions on religious practice in the Tibet Autonomous Region.

The note gives a summary of certain sentences in the printed documents and points out their significance for religious policy.

Please give the UN Religious Affairs Delegation the extracts from this recent compilation [29(WJ)], which gives a brief account of current policy in Tibet.

The book is a TAR regional-level publication and it is the main reference text which is being used by [political education] Work Teams in the current indoctrination campaign that is being carried out throughout the region.

This book [29(WJ)] is a briefing on the purpose and objectives of meeting in Beijing in July (the 3rd National Forum on Work in Tibet). It gives clear statements of the intentions of the authorities towards Tibet, including its history, culture and in particular its religion. I have tried to add brief comments on a few main points, which I have underlined in the text.

Page 32: This section says that there should be changes in policy.

Page 64: In this section the Chinese Communists blame instability on the "Dalai Clique". However, instability is a result of the attempts to eliminate Tibetan culture and of the failure of the Chinese to certain basic agreed policies. 1.2 million Tibetans died as a result of the Chinese invasion of Tibet and thousands are still alive who took part in wars against the Chinese invasion since 1950.

Page 66: This section says that the Dalai Lama is to be regarded as the principal enemy. This argument, described here, has been found to be very effective as an argument for indoctrinating people into accepting Chinese culture and making them keen to promote it.

Page 66: It states that the main enemy of the TAR is the Dalai Clique, and says that if you need to kill a snake, you should smash the snake's head. In my opinion this is a serious level of abuse being imposed by force on Tibetans, especially the novices. [...]

Page 69: This passage says that the enemies of the people will be defeated and that their actions will be turned into major crimes.

My own comment on this is that this shows how the authorities seek to indoctrinated innocent Tibetans, but at the same time it accepts by implication the impact of the Tibetan independence movement.

Page 74: Tibetans are trying to keep the education system alive by sending their young children to monasteries and nunneries. If they become novices, even if they leave then, they can read and write Tibetan. The Chinese want to indoctrinate the young generation and to tame them away from nationalist ideas; one of their most insidious policies is to promote Chinese culture, so that Tibetan language is almost non-practised in administration and business circles. The Chinese therefore wanted to convert the monastic institutions into non-effective units.

Page 76: This sentence - "Steps should be taken to ensure that there is no lack of clarity regarding duties and rights as a result of conflicting religious loyalties" - may be the text which led to the ban on photographs of the Dalai Lama.

Page 79: This sentence - "The people, and monks and nuns in particular, should clearly decide to separate themselves politically from the Dalai Group" - says that monks and nuns should make a clear division between themselves and the Dalai clique. This means monks and nuns and lay people should disobey the Dalai Lama and his efforts to preserve Tibetan culture and the identity of Tibet. In terms of the language used by the Chinese, this is a clear sign that Tibetan culture should be destroyed and that Tibet should be turned into a Chinese colony.

Page 80: This passage - "Rules and regulations should be formulated to bring religious affairs under these regulations, and [implementation] documents should be drawn up to make religious affairs subject to these regulations" - stresses the importance of making rules and regulations about religious practices. This clearly indicates that the claimed policy of freedom of religion exists only on paper.

Page 81: This states that religious codes of conduct and the carrying out of religious rituals must be reformed to suit the socialist system. The socialist system does not believe in religion; it is atheist. This demand that religious tenets be "reformed" also means that it is required by the Communist Party that the basic teachings of Lord Buddha must be fabricated. This means that the practice of genuine Buddhism will no longer be allowed to exist in Tibet.

Doc. 51(WJ)

One Tibetan submitted a copy of the *Tibet Daily* published on 25th November, the day of the arrival in Lhasa of the UN team. The article which was marked for the attention of the UN was the text of sections 12 and 13 of the Party Circular originally written on 20th September, and published in book form on 1st October 1994 (for extracts see above, TIN Doc. 29(WJ)). For translated extracts from the *Tibet Daily* article see "The Golden Bridge to Reach the New Era", above.

RELIGIOUS PRISONERS

Typical Major Cases of Tibetan Prisoners Detained, Apparently for Religious Reasons

TIN, London, October 1994

This is a list of typical cases of Tibetan prisoners who are serving sentences of between 12 and 28 years for non-violent activities. All of these prisoners are believed to be Buddhists, and most are monks or nuns. None of them have been connected in any way to the use of violence or to encouraging the use of violence.

The activities for which they have been sentenced do not appear to be criminal in terms of the standards enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The activities all amount to the non-violent expression of opinions and of religious beliefs.

The treatment received by Tibetan prisoners, of which these cases are typical, appears to have been inhumane and systematic. It includes torture, beating and the use of excessive additional sentences for alleged breaches of prison discipline.

Two of these prisoners are monks serving 19 years for publishing a partly religious document calling for the establishment of a "democratic system based on the sacred teachings elegantly spoken by the Buddha as well as on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (Ngawang Pulchung and Jampel Changchub).

One is a monk who is serving an additional 8 year sentence for writing a letter from prison (Yeshe Ngawang).

Three are nuns serving additional sentences of between 8 and 9 years for singing songs onto a tape recorder in the prison. The songs were mainly hymns praising their spiritual leader the Dalai Lama (Phuntsog Nyidron, Tenzin Thubten and Gyaltsen Drolkar).

Typical Major Cases of Tibetans in Prison Ostensibly for Religious Reasons

Monks

Ngawang Pulchung
Jampel Changchub
Yeshe Ngawang

serving 19 years
serving 19 years
serving 14 years

Nuns

Phuntsog Nyidron
Tenzin Thubten
Gyaltsen Drolkar

serving 17 years
serving 14 years
serving 12 years

Lay

Jampa Ngodrup
Jigme Zangpo

serving 13 years
serving 28 years

One is a nun who was beaten by prison guards for singing during impromptu celebrations of the *Losar* (New Year) festival inside the prison. She died from apparently related injuries on 4th June 1994 (Phuntsog Yankgyi, possibly the same person as Tenzin Thubten).

One is a doctor serving 13 years for making a list of arbitrarily detained prisoners (Jampa Ngodrup) and another is a school-teacher, also a Buddhist, who is serving 28 years for shouting slogans on three occasions (Jigme Zangpo).

Note: Relation of the Sentences to Religious Beliefs

The Chinese authorities say that the monks and nuns held as prisoners in Tibet are not held because of their religious beliefs or affiliation, or because of their expression of opinions.

According to lawyers, it is for the Chinese government to prove that these prisoners, in expressing their opinions and religious beliefs, incited violence or warfare, or in some similar way deviated from the permissible forms of exercising the rights to freedom of expression and belief.

Failure by the Chinese authorities to establish that the prisoners committed an internationally recognised offence such as incitement to violence means that these people are arbitrarily detained.¹¹ In that event the prisoners are not guilty of any criminal offence and there is a *prima facie* case that these prisoners, who are all monks and nuns or individuals with strongly held religious convictions, are being held because of their religious affiliation or religious beliefs.

The *prima facie* case that the detentions are based on religions affiliation or belief is re-inforced by the persistent banning of arbitrarily detained monks and nuns from re-entering any monastery or nunnery after their release. In addition, in many cases the prisoners have been forbidden to pray within the prisons.

In accordance with the practice established by the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions, the Chinese authorities could be asked either to refute the case or to

¹¹ This is clear from the definition given in the Report of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention (E/CN.4/1992/20, p10, Principle No 2), which says that detentions when the facts giving rise to the prosecution or conviction concern the

release the prisoners and allow them to continue their religious practices unhindered.

Extended and Disproportionate Sentences

A number of prisoners, including monks and nuns, are serving extended or additional sentences for alleged breaches of prison discipline. There is no manifest legal basis for these convictions, and the sentences handed down are excessive. This warrants the conclusion that these additional sentences are due to the religious beliefs or affiliations of the prisoners.

In the examples given here, the prisoners received sentences of between 8 and 9 years for shouting slogans or singing songs in the prison, mainly to their religious leader the Dalai Lama, or for attempting to give a letter to relatives. These disciplinary sentences are by international standards disproportionate to the alleged offences and so could be due to the religious affiliation and beliefs of the prisoners.

Use of Torture and Beating

This is also true in the case of prisoners who have been severely tortured or beaten, either during interrogation or for alleged breaches of prison discipline.

One case here refers to a nun who was beaten for singing during a celebration of the *Losar* (New Year) festival in February 1994; she later died from causes which have not been announced but which were related to brain injury. Here too the case could be made that these excessive punishments were inflicted because of the religious affiliation or beliefs of the prisoners.

Nuns in particular have reported the systematic use of severe forms of torture during interrogation, such as aerial suspension and insertion of electric batons in sensitive areas. Several cases, including some documented in the reports of the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, indicate that nuns receive worse torture than other prisoners accused of similar offences. This is apparently on account of their religious beliefs or status.

MONKS

Ngawang Pulchung

Also spelt Ngawang Pulchung (Chinese: Awang Pingqiong or Awang Buqiong)
Born: 1957/8
Birthplace: Teolung Dechen
Sex: Male
Profession: Monk at Drepung Monastery, near Lhasa (student of *Geshe* degree or doctorate in theology)
Detained: 16th April 1989
Sentence: 19 years + five years deprivation of political rights
Sentenced: 30 November, 1989
Held at: TAR Prison No.1 (Drapchi), Unit 5

He and nine other monks (*Geshe* students) from Drepung monastery formed a secret organisation which printed booklets and posters, including a Tibetan translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and an important pamphlet calling for a democratic system to be established in Tibet based on "the sacred teachings elegantly spoken by the Buddha,

exercise of the appropriate rights and freedoms protected by the Universal Declaration are arbitrary.

as well as the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and the proclaimed authority to exercise the right to self-determination."

He was convicted of "forming a counter-revolutionary organisation and spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda". He was also accused of having "collected intelligence and passed it on to the enemy", probably a reference to handing over names of prisoners to the Dalai Lama's government.
(Source of information: Radio Lhasa, 30 November, 1989).

He was one of 20 prisoners beaten and put in solitary confinement for 6 weeks for protesting against the transfer on 27 April 1991 of 5 prisoners who had handed US Ambassador China James Lilley a statement about torture and ill-treatment during his visit to Drapchi prison in 1991.

Jampel Changchub

Also spelt Jampel Changchup, Jampel Jangchub (Chinese: Gambai Qiangqu ?)
Layname: Yugyal
Born: c. 1960
Birthplace: Teolung Dechen
Sex: male
Profession: Monk at Drepung Monastery, near Lhasa (student of *Geshe* degree or doctorate in theology)
Detained: 16th March 1989
Sentence: 19 years + five years deprivation of political rights
Sentenced: 30 November, 1989
Held at: TAR Prison No.1 (Drapchi), Unit 5

He and nine other monks (*Geshe* students) from Drepung monastery formed a secret organisation which printed booklets and posters, including a Tibetan translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and an important pamphlet calling for a democratic system to be established in Tibet. (see the case of Ngawang Pulchung above)

Jampel Changchub was accused of "forming a counter-revolutionary organisation and spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda". He was also accused of having "collected intelligence and passed it on to the enemy", possibly a reference to handing over names of prisoners to the Dalai Lama's government (Source of information: Radio Lhasa, 30 November, 1989).

He was one of 20 prisoners beaten and harshly disciplined in the prison for protesting against the transfer on 27 April 1991 of 5 prisoners who had handed US Ambassador China James Lilley a statement about torture and ill-treatment during his visit to Drapchi prison in 1991.

Yeshe Ngawang

(Chinese: Yixi Awang)
Born: c. 1967
Sex: male
Birthplace: Lhokha Gongkar
Profession: student monk at Sungrab Ling Monastery, Chideshol 40 km south east of Lhasa
Detained: 13th March 1989
Sentence: 5 + 9 = 14 years
Held at: TAR Prison No.1 (Drapchi), Unit 5

Yeshe Ngawang was detained after participating in a pro-independence demonstration with five other monks on 13th March 1989 and sentenced to 5 years in prison. In December 1990 he was badly beaten after

taking part in a peaceful protest about a prisoner who had died from medical neglect. In April 1991 he was badly beaten and put in solitary confinement for 6 weeks after protesting at the beatings and transfer given to 5 prisoners who had handed a letter to the visiting US Ambassador, James Lilley.

In 1991 prison guards caught him trying to pass a letter to his relatives during a prison visit. He was tortured severely and his sentence was extended by nine years. The relatives were also badly beaten.

NUNS

Phuntsog Nyidron

(Chinese: Pingcuo Nizhen)
Layname: Tseten (Chinese: Cidan)
Born: c. 1968
Birthplace: Phenpo Lhundrup county
Sex: female
Profession: nun at Michungri Nunnery
Detained: 14th October 1989
Sentence: 9 + 8 = 17 yrs
Held at: TAR Prison No.1 (Drapchi), Unit 3

Sentence was extended in October 1993 to 17 years after she was caught singing pro-independence songs onto a tape recorder which had been smuggled into Drapchi prison.
Prison: TAR Prison No 1 (Drapchi), Lhasa

Phuntsog Nyidron was detained during a demonstration by six nuns in central Lhasa on October 14, 1989. She was described in the official newspaper *Tibet Daily* (Chinese: *Xizang Ribao*) on 18th October 1989 as "the ringleader". The demonstration took place three days after Tibetans heard news of the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama and was a celebration of the news. The nuns called for Tibetan independence. The 6-person demonstration was peaceful and lasted a few minutes. Four of the nuns were sentenced to three years administrative detention, but Phuntsog Nyidron was sent for a court trial and given a much longer sentence, apparently because she was the nunnery store-keeper and therefore was considered to have more responsibility than the other nuns.

One of the nuns who has since escaped says that the women were kicked and beaten during the arrest and later given electric shocks on their hands, shoulders, breasts, tongue and face. During interrogation each nun was suspended for at least 15 minutes from the ceiling by her hands handcuffed behind her, with her feet above the ground, and then beaten with an iron rod (Testimony of Tenzin Choekyi, January 1994).

In October 1993 she was found guilty of singing songs in June 1993 into a tape recorder which had been smuggled into the prison. She was sentenced to an additional 8 years, making a total of 17 years.

Tenzin Thubten

(Chinese name: Tenzing Tubtain?)
Lay name: Dawa Yangchen or Dawa Yangkyi
Sex: female
Born: c. 1969
Birthplace: Maldro Gongkar
Profession: nun at Michungri Nunnery
Detained: 21st August 1990
"Arrested" (ie., charged): 11 September 1990
Sentenced: 30th November, 1990
Sentence: 5 + 9 = 14 yrs
Source: Lhasa City People's Intermediate Court Criminal Sentencing Document No. 34 (1990)

Held at: TAR Prison No.1 (Drapchi), Unit 3

She was one of 15 nuns arrested for taking part in a brief non-violent demonstration in the park of the Norbulingka (Summer Palace of the Dalai Lama), Lhasa, on 21st August 1990, during an official performance of a Tibetan opera. She was convicted of shouting slogans in support of the Dalai Lama and of calling on the Chinese to leave Tibet. She was found guilty of "spreading separatist ideology in order to split our Motherland by shouting reactionary slogans such as "Tibet is independent". She was described as one of those nuns who were "merely followers so it should be decided to give them a milder punishment" and was sentenced to 5 years with one year to be reduced if her behaviour was good (Source: Lhasa City People's Intermediate Court Criminal Sentencing Document No. 34 (1990)).

In October 1993 she was found guilty of singing songs in June 1993 into a tape recorder which had been smuggled into the prison. She was sentenced to an additional 9 years, making a total of 14 years.

Phuntsog Yangkyi: Death of Nun in Custody

A nun by the name of **Phuntsog Yangkyi**, who was a prisoner at Drapchi, died in a Lhasa hospital from a brain injury on 4 June 1994. The fatal injury allegedly resulted from beatings sustained by Phuntsog Yangkyi when prison guards punished her and other nuns for singing as part of their impromptu celebration in the prison of the *Losar* (New Year) festival in February 1994. According to unofficial reports no independent post-mortem was allowed and the body was not returned to the family. Some sources say that this nun was Tenzin Thubten (layname: Dawa Yangkyi), who was also from Michungri nunnery and whose lay name is similar.

Gyaltzen Drolkar

Also spelt Gyentsen Dolkar (Chinese: Jiacing Zhouga)
Layname: Dawa
Born: c. 1970
Birthplace: Meldro Gongkar
Sex: female
Profession: nun at Garu Nunnery
Detained: 21st August 1990
"Arrested" (ie., charged): 11 September 1990
Sentence: 4 + 8 = 12 yrs
Sentenced: 30th November, 1990
Source: Lhasa City People's Intermediate Court Criminal Sentencing Document No. 34 (1990)
Held at: TAR Prison No.1 (Drapchi), Unit 3

She was one of 15 nuns arrested for taking part in a brief non-violent demonstration in the park of the Norbulingka (Summer Palace of the Dalai Lama), Lhasa, on 21st August 1990, during an official performance of a Tibetan opera. She was convicted of shouting slogans in support of the Dalai Lama and of calling on the Chinese to leave Tibet. She was found guilty of "spreading separatist ideology in order to split our Motherland by shouting reactionary slogans such as "Tibet is independent". She was described as one of those nuns who were "merely followers so it should be decided to give them a milder punishment" and sentenced to 4 years with one year to be reduced if her behaviour was good (Source: Lhasa City People's Intermediate Court Criminal Sentencing Document No. 34 (1990)).

In October 1993 she was found guilty of singing songs in June 1993 into a tape recorder which had been smuggled into the prison. She was sentenced to an additional 8 years, making a total of 12 years.

Ngawang Dedroen

Also spelt Ngawang Dedrol (Chinese: Awang Dezhen)
Layname: Rinchen Choedron (Chinese: Renqen Quzhen)
Sex: Female
Born: c 1968
Birthplace: Chumda township in Medrogungkar county
Profession: nun at Garu nunnery, near Lhasa
Date of Arrest: 14 June 1993
Sentence: 7 years
Reason for Arrest: apparently demonstrating or preparing to demonstrate
Prison: TAR Prison No 1 (Drapchi), Unit 3

Ngawang Dedrol was one of 12 nuns from Garu nunnery who was arrested on 14th June 1993 and sentenced several months later. The nuns were accused of pro-independence activity, but there are no reports of any demonstration in or near Lhasa that day, and some sources say that the nuns were arrested before they had managed to begin any protest. All 12 nuns were arrested and received sentences of up to 7 years each for the unknown offence.

LAY PEOPLE

Jampa Ngodrup

Given name: Dr. Jampa Ngodrup (Chinese: Qiangba Ouzhu)
Family name: Nyarongshar
Born: 1945
Sex: male
Detained: 20 October 1989
Arrested (ie., charged): 13 August 1990
Sentence: 13 years
Sentenced: 24 December 1990
Held at: TAR Prison No.1 (Drapchi), Unit 5

Health: According to 1992 information he was suffering from severe fluid retention as well as from tuberculosis.

A medical doctor at the Lhasa City Barkor Clinic. Sentenced to 13 years in prison for having "with counter-revolutionary aims collected lists of people detained in disturbances and passed them on to others, thus undermining the law and violating the laws of secrecy" [Source of information: Lhasa Municipal People's Intermediate Court Sentencing Document No 40 (1990)]

Jigme Sangpo

Also spelt Jigme Zangpo (Chinese: Ji mei Sang bou?)
Family name: Tanak
Full name: Tanak Jigme Zangpo
Born: c. 1929
Birthplace: Chushul
Sex: male
Detained: 3 September, 1983 (previous detentions 1959, 1970)
Sentence: 15 + 5 + 8 = 28 years
Sentenced: 24 November, 1983; 1 December, 1988; 4 April, 1992.
Held at: TAR Prison No.1 (Drapchi), Unit 5
Health: He is reported to be suffering from high blood pressure

Jigme Sangpo, formerly a primary school teacher in Lhasa, was arrested in 1983 and sentenced to 15 years for shouting a pro-independence slogan and carrying a banner in a solo protest. He was charged again for shouting slogans while inside prison in 1987 (5 years) and again during the visit of the Swiss Ambassador to the prison in 1991 (8 years). He had already served at least ten years for a political offence committed in 1970 as well as at least three years for a similar offence in 1959, giving a total sentence of 41 years in jail for non-violent offences.

Details of charges from official documents:

1. Detained on 3 September, 1983 for putting up pro-independence poster and wearing banner with slogan; convicted on 24 November, 1983 of "spreading and inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda"; sentenced to 15 years (Source: Lhasa Municipal Intermediate Court Sentencing Document 2 (1984)).

2. On 5 October, 1987 he "raised several reactionary slogans" inside Drapchi prison, calling for independence; convicted of "spreading and inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda" on 1 December, 1988; sentenced to additional 5 years (Source: Lhasa Municipal Intermediate Court Sentencing Document 12 (1988)).

3. On 6 December, 1991 he "raised several slogans in English, Tibetan and Chinese saying 'Tibetan independence'" inside Drapchi prison, calling for independence; "found to be a dangerous counter-revolutionary person" and convicted of "spreading and inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda" on 4 April, 1992; sentenced to additional 8 years (Source: Lhasa Municipal Intermediate Court Sentencing Document 11 (1992)).

Previous sentence: "In 1970 he was sentenced to a 10-year prison term on the guilt of counter-revolutionary crimes." (Source: Lhasa Municipal Intermediate Court Sentencing Document 2 (1984)).

TIN Background Briefing Paper No.25

Restrictions on Religion in Tibet, 1994

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